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MARTIN OF TOURS,

APOSTLE OF GAUL.

"HULSEAN" PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1890.

BY

H. H. SCULLARD, B.A.,

M.A. LOND.

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Minister of the York Street Congregational Church, Dublin.

"If the Gracchi had been contemporaries of Theodosius, their names would have taken the places which Ambrose and Martin of Tours at present hold in ecclesiastical history."—*Sir James Stephen.*

JOHN HEYWOOD,
DEANSGATE AND RIDGEFIELD, MANCHESTER;
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PREFACE

THE subject of this essay introduces us to three of the leading aspects of the Church's activity in the fourth century. With the development of its intellectual life S. Martin had comparatively little to do. He was fitted neither by training nor disposition to take an important part in the settlement of doctrinal questions, and although in his earlier years he gained the title of "Confessor" by an attack upon the Arians, the first encounter seems to have been the last. He was never a prominent figure at the Councils; he never took up his pen in defence of the Faith.

But other questions not less important than the formulation of doctrine were waiting for solution. The recognition of Christianity by the Empire soon led to the necessity of determining the true relation of Church and State. The answer which was given at the close of the century was due, so far as the Church itself was concerned, chiefly to the exertions of two men—S. Ambrose and S. Martin.

Another characteristic of the age was a revival of missionary zeal. Now that persecution had ceased the Churches were free to propagate their faith without let or hindrance. The use which they made of their enlarged opportunities was far from being

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adequate. The energy of the Churches was often exhausted, and the claims of the heathen forgotten, in the stormy controversies of the time. Even the devotion of the faithful took in many cases a mistaken and unpractical form; while, enervated by worldly success, fashion, and amusement, countless multitudes lost all interest in the extension of Christ's kingdom. Nevertheless something was done. Missions were established, notably among the Goths and Gauls. In this work S. Martin bore an honourable part.

Finally, the increased power and resources of the Churches enabled them to deal, if not always successfully, yet upon a larger scale, with the pressing social problems of the time. It was felt that some attempt must be made to relieve the poverty and distress of the neglected poor. S. Martin was one of those who inaugurated in the West a new movement to effect this object.

These facts lend a three-fold interest to the study of S. Martin's life, and suggest the points of view from which it may be profitably undertaken.

Much has been written about the acts and fame of S. Martin. The following is a list of the most important contributions to the literature of the subject.

ANCIENT.

Sulpicius Severus, contemporary and disciple of the saint, wrote a life of S. Martin; also three epistles and three dialogues, to supply what had been omitted in his first work.

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Sozomen refers to Martin in one chapter of his history, and confirms some of the facts noted by Sulpicius.

Paulinus of Perigueux (not Nola, as sometimes erroneously stated) wrote a metrical version of Sulpicius's work about seventy years after the original had been composed.

Fortunatus a hundred years later composed another metrical version. But neither his work nor that of Paulinus have any independent value.

Gregory of Tours mentions S. Martin several times in his history, and in his books on the "Miracles of St. Martin" describes the wonders wrought at his tomb; as throwing light upon the age in which Gregory lived, or upon the fame of Martin, these may be interesting, but they are comparatively worthless for the present purpose. One exception must, however, be made to the meagre attention bestowed on the testimony of Gregory; reasons will be given for following the dates which he assigns to some of the events of St. Martin's life.

Other minor treatises followed at intervals, as those of *Alcuin*, Abbé of the Church of St. Martin in the eighth century, and of *Odo of Clugny* in the tenth.

MODERN.

Among modern works the French are by far the most important. They are numerous and full of information. Four of them should be specially mentioned—*Nicolas Gervaise*, "La Vie de St. Martin," 1699 A.D.; *Le Nain de Tillemont*, "Mémoires pour

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servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique," Vol. X.; *Achilles Dupuy*, "Histoire de St. Martin," 1853 A.D., translated into German by J. Bucher, 1855 A.D.; and *A. Lecoy de la Marche*, "Vie de St. Martin," 1881 A.D.

The principal work in German is "Martin von Tours" by *J. H. Reinkens*, the third edition of which was published in 1876. There is also said to be a Life in Bohemian, by *Dr. Riha*, Professor of Theology at Budweis.

The accounts which I have seen in English are those by *Dr. Cazenove* in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and in the small volume, "S. Hilary and S. Martin," by *J. H. Newman* in the "Church of the Fathers"; by *Alban Butler* in his "Lives of the Saints"; by *Rev. Baring Gould* in "Lives of the Saints": and by *Tylor and Backhouse* in "Witnesses for Christ."

The English works are necessarily very fragmentary, and incomplete both from a biographical and critical point of view. The French and German are all that can be desired, so far as the mere narrative is concerned, but suffer from the fact that they are all written from the same standpoint. The writers never forget that they are recording the deeds of a saint; one, therefore, who is not to be judged in the same manner as the uncanonised. Little attempt is made to connect S. Martin with the general life of his time, and as a consequence of this false isolation his work and influence remain unexplained. I have, therefore, found these works of value chiefly as furnishing illustrations of an antiquarian character, and have, I hope, sufficiently acknowledged my obligations to

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them in the footnotes. After the exhaustive work done in this field, especially by Gervaise and M. de la Marche, it would not be easy to find any new information upon the subject.

All who write upon S. Martin's life have to depend chiefly upon the works of Sulpicius. As the latter was a contemporary I have not thought it right to omit anything of importance; for although it may not be possible to accept all his accounts as a statement of actual fact, they illustrate the character of Martin's own age, and in particular of the men whom he gathered round him. "History, to be true," said Dean Milman, "must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times."

The purpose and method of the Essay will be more fully stated in the Introduction, and differ considerably from those adopted by previous writers.

The deficiencies of the French biographers of Martin can be to a large extent filled up by reference to the numerous Church and secular historians of France, who all recognise his influence upon their country.

Finally, the two books which I have found most helpful are Sir James Stephen's "Lectures on the History of France" and "L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain au IV^{me} Siècle," by the Duc de Broglie. Two sentences in the former, a few paragraphs of the latter, seem to me to show more insight into the work and times of Martin than all his biographers combined.

With regard to a minor point, I should perhaps state that I have given a different account of the

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Priscillianists from that usually adopted. The question as to the precise nature of their teaching deserves a more careful treatment than it has yet received, but the answer would not materially affect our estimate of the character and work of S. Martin.

It remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. H. M. Gwalkin, M.A., of St. John's College, for interest aroused in the study of Church History; to Professor Herbert E. Ryle, M.A., for help given in correcting the MS. for the press; and to Mr. C. H. Ward, B.A., for revising the proof sheets.

May, 1891. H. H. S.

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INTRODUCTION.

"I AM undertaking to write the life of a man whom Christian antiquity has thought to be like the Prophets, comparable with the Apostles, equal to the Martyrs: of a man who in his age was, so to say, the Master of Nature, the God of Emperors, as Moses once was to Pharaoh. More fortunate than the greatest conquerors whose heroic deeds have been buried in oblivion by the flight of years, those of Martin, after more than thirteen hundred years, are still present to our minds. Time, which destroys everything, has only served to establish his reputation. The glory of his name has been borne to the ends of the earth. Martin is known everywhere where Jesus Christ is worshipped, and it may be said that he was never greater than in his tomb, where human greatness is annihilated. Such is the lot of those who having imitated perfectly Jesus Christ in this life reign with Him in glory."[1]

With these words did the Abbé Nicolas Gervaise, Prévôt of S. Martin of Tours, commence at the close of the seventeenth century to write a biography of his illustrious fellow-townsman. They present to us the estimate formed, not only in ancient but also

[1] Gervaise, p. 1.

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in modern times, of the character and power of S. Martin: they might serve as preface for almost every work written upon the subject. If enthusiastic admiration is the one essential for such an undertaking, it must be confessed that S. Martin has been extremely fortunate in his biographers. There has certainly been no want of appreciation of his striking gifts, nor any attempt to underestimate his influence. All that comparison, all that language, could do has been done, and we have the picture of a man of unblemished character and superhuman power, regarded with the utmost reverence by his contemporaries, the object of the affection and worship of all succeeding ages.

Even during his life-time, S. Martin had the good fortune of having his deeds recorded by a loving and admiring disciple, and one whose singular grace of style has earned for him the title of the "Christian Sallust." The success of the Life of S. Martin was so great that Sulpicius was encouraged to take up his pen again and add further particulars to gratify the curiosity of his many interested readers. His work received the commendation of S. Augustine, who recommended it as a model for all future authors who wished to commemorate the saints. In course of time poetical versions appeared, and S. Martin's virtues were duly celebrated in song. Two hundred years after his death the see of Tours was occupied by the illustrious Gregory, who used his learning and influence to glorify his popular predecessor. The work, so well begun, was continued at intervals until the seventeenth century, when the study of S. Martin's life was again undertaken and prosecuted

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with considerable vigour. Nor has the nineteenth century forgotten its obligations. The works of Dupuy, Reinkens, and Lecoy de la Marche are both able and interesting; but what is more conspicuous even than their erudition is the very high estimate they set upon the character and work of S. Martin. They do not yield to any of their predecessors in the warmness of their admiration. "Living or dead," says his latest biographer, "the apostolic hero of our country dominates all our history, above princes who before him have bowed their sceptres, above the revolutions which have not been able to efface his blessed memory from the earth. He appears to our epoch of pygmies as a giant of an extinct type, and he who attempts to measure his stature succeeds only in measuring his own littleness. How can one speak of the work of conquerors, of the glory of the founders of Empires in face of the work and of the glory of this conqueror of souls, of this founder of Catholic France!"[2]

Such being the character of writings professedly historical, it is unnecessary to add that legend also has fixed upon S. Martin as a suitable theme and added to his remarkable exploits still more fantastic ones. Art, too, has found welcome material in the striking scenes of S. Martin's life, and illustrations dating from about the tenth century onwards of a very varied and interesting character have come down to us. Churches almost innumerable have been dedicated to his memory. Three thousand six hun-

[2] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 654.

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dred and seventy-five parish churches and four hundred and eighty-five villages or hamlets have been counted in France alone.[3] The other countries of Europe have followed the example of France. Holland has sixty-six sanctuaries under his invocation.[4] Before the year 500 A.D. there was a church dedicated to him in Rome. In 529 A.D. S. Benedict built his chapel at Monte Cassino on the site of a temple of Apollo in honour of the saint.[5] Milan and other parts of Italy remember him. Germany, Switzerland, and Spain have numerous monuments of his fame, nor have our own islands failed to recognise this popular saint. Bede[6] tells us that when S. Augustine was in England he found a church at Canterbury dedicated to S. Martin. In post-Reformation times there have been one hundred and sixty-three named after him.[7] Saint-Martin-le-Grand has a history extending over at least eight hundred years. The church near Hastings is said to have been founded by William the Conqueror. The first stone church in Scotland was erected in the year of S. Martin's death and called by his name [8]. Ireland has shown deep attachment for his memory; illustrations of which will be found in an Appendix [9]. The name Martin was adopted by several of the Popes, and has become very widely

[3] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 500. [4] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 573.

[5] Dupuy. Appendix.

[6] Hist. Eccl., I., 26. "There was on the E. side of the city a church dedicated to the honour of S. Martin, built while the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen, who, as it has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray."

[7] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 575. [8] Appendix IV. [9] Appendix III.

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used. Two of the islands discovered by Columbus were called after him. Even Asia and Africa show traces of his popularity.[10]

France, however, as was natural, has excelled all other nations in the honour shown to S. Martin. Her historians have taken the date of his death as a starting point for their chronology. His festival was one of the most magnificent. "During all the middle ages history or legend paints him as presiding over the destinies of the country and royalty. Three dynasties of kings call him in their official acts their lover and special protector, and honour him as such in the chapel of the palace."[11]

His immediate successor erected a chapel over his tomb. This was replaced in the time of Perpetuus (third in succession from S. Martin) by a magnificent basilica, and the spot became the religious centre of Gaul. Pilgrimages were frequently made to the shrine, and wonderful cures are said to have been wrought there. For centuries, moved by veneration for the saint, or wishing to be popular with their subjects, kings visited his tomb. The most noted of these visits, perhaps, were those paid by Clovis. One of them took place immediately before his baptism, which he received at the hands of S. Remi in the Church of S. Martin, at Rheims, along with his sister and three thousand of his troops. Some time after, when engaged in a campaign against the Arian Visigoths, he again invoked the aid of the saint. As the embassy entered the church the choir chanted

[10] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 593. [11] Lecoy de la Marche, p. 642.

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the words of the eighteenth Psalm: "Thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle: Thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me. Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me." The sign was favourable. How could it have been otherwise? The champion against Arianism could not have declared for the Visigoths. The orthodox clergy were firm adherents of the Christian King of the Franks. The troops went out of Tours encouraged. Alaric was slain and the day won. On other battle-fields the help of S. Martin was thought to have been given. At the battle of Lepanto the Austrian army fought under his flag. A hundred years later another victory was gained over the Turks by Sobieski, for which he was indebted, it is said, to the aid of the saint.[12]

All this, and indications might be multiplied, illustrates the esteem in which S. Martin was held, and it is only natural to enquire what were the reasons for this extraordinary attachment. The man who has made so deep an impression upon his own and succeeding ages, whose name is honoured not only in France, but in almost all civilized countries, deserves careful study; and any attempt, however inadequate, to explain the causes of his widespread influence, will hardly be regarded as superfluous.

I.—The first suggestion likely to occur is that S. Martin's popularity has been due to the fact that

[12] "C'était la troisième fois que l'influence de S. Martin preservait l'occident du joug de Mahomet."—Lecoy de la Marche, p. 643.

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he had an interesting and eloquent biographer. The marvellous success which attended the publication of the Life and Dialogues, written by Sulpicius, brought the saint into instant and almost world-wide notoriety. These books were written in a fascinating style, and contained some very remarkable stories. They proved interesting reading, and so, while introducing S. Martin to a very large public, placed him from the first on excellent terms with them. The first readers did not care to examine very closely the accuracy of these accounts, and subsequent generations received them as a faithful record of the words and deeds of an illustrious man.

There would, no doubt, be some truth in a theory such as this. The publication of these books, undoubtedly, added to the fame of S. Martin, and increased his popularity to an incalculable extent, but it was hardly the cause of it. If the Life of S. Anthony written by S. Athanasius is to be regarded as history, and not romance, it presents a fair parallel to the Life of S. Martin, by Sulpicius. They were both written by able men, and in the same century. They both had for their subject a saint and monk. They were both very widely and eagerly read. Yet S. Anthony has never earned the gratitude and reverence of mankind to the extent that S. Martin has. He may have been regarded as a pious and wonderful man, even as having, by his life and work, conferred lasting benefit upon his fellow men; but he has never been a popular hero.

There must have been some other ground for S. Martin's popularity than the attractive portraiture of

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Sulpicius. Even a brilliant biography would hardly have been sufficient to turn an unpopular or obscure man into a popular hero. It would not account, moreover, for the influence of S. Martin during his lifetime. If he had not already made a deep and favourable impression on his age, it is not likely that Sulpicius would have conceived the idea of writing his life. But the life once written added enormously to his fame, and was an important secondary cause.

II.—Is, then, the primary cause to be found in the miraculous powers ascribed to the saint? This is the opinion of the vast majority of those who have written upon the subject. S. Martin is represented as a wonder-worker. By the exercise of his supernatural gifts he was enabled to do his work and attain the notoriety he did. Such writers point to the plain testimony of Sulpicius, and accept all that he relates as the record of actual fact. Realising, too, the hold S. Martin has gained upon popular affection, they say that this is the only adequate cause. To deny the miraculous is, moreover, to make him a conscious impostor, a conclusion they very naturally resent.

If this conclusion was inevitable, we should probably join in the resentment. No impostor could have done the work: none have maintained himself so long in the esteem and affections of men. The time has gone by for ascribing such motives to the influential men of history.

But it may be that neither of the assumptions upon which this view rests is warranted. The evidence of Sulpicius may not be strong enough to support the miraculous. The influence of S. Martin may be

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capable of explanation without resort to the supernatural. If the first assumption is not true, we have no right to accept the miracles recorded; if the second is false, we have also no *need* to do so.

It is probably impossible to judge impartially the testimony of Sulpicius. No one perhaps comes to the facts with a perfectly unbiassed mind. Those who say miracles do not happen, and therefore never have happened (a statement which seems to the ordinary mind very illogical), necessarily come to the testimony of Sulpicius with their minds already made up; while those who hold that miracles (if only one) have happened will look at the evidence from an entirely different standpoint. If a miracle has ever been worked, the evidence for a second deserves respectful consideration. But even in this case many will not regard the evidence solely from the point of view of the trustworthiness of the witness. Even in the face of the most satisfactory testimony people will hesitate before accepting as fact what seems in itself improbable. They will generally want to feel that there is not any serious antecedent improbability before declaring themselves convinced. "It is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false;" there are few, if any, witnesses to be believed with absolute confidence if they cannot make their testimony reasonable.

This is true of the whole question of miracles: it is true also of any particular instance. One, *e.g.*, who accepts the miracles of the Gospels will want to know not only about the capacity and moral trustworthiness of Sulpicius, but will also ask himself whether there

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is any antecedent improbability in accepting the miracles ascribed to S. Martin. The enemies of *a priori* assumptions may say that he has no right to do so, but as a matter of fact he does, and thus comes into court more or less prejudiced. One will say: ecclesiastical miracles are in themselves highly probable; those of S. Martin are unusually so, inasmuch as he laboured among Pagan populations in a land never visited by the Apostles. Another will say: these things cannot be: miracles ceased with the apostolic age.

This being so it is the more necessary that the evidence should be above suspicion: the stress of the argument must fall upon it. There is much to be said for its validity in the present instance.

(*a*) It is the testimony of a contemporary and of one who claims to have been an eyewitness of some of the scenes described and to have received information regarding others from most authentic sources.[13] We know that he was a disciple of S. Martin during the closing years of his life, and would have all the pride of a Boswell in observing and recording the wonderful sayings and doings of his master.

(*b*) Sulpicius was a very able and cultured man. Gibbon recognised this, and was astonished that a man of his calibre should have countenanced such absurd stories. "The life of S. Martin," he says, "and the dialogues concerning his miracles contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the

[13] V. B. M. 25. Dial. II. 14, III. 5, II. 4. V. B. M. 5.

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alliance between good taste and good sense that I am always astonished by this contrast."[14]

(*c*) The good faith of Sulpicius is also considered unimpeachable. More than once he solemnly affirms that he is speaking the truth.[15] Could a holy man like Sulpicius forge a lie? Many unhesitatingly will answer in the negative. To others the fact of his being a saint will not preclude the idea that he shared the defective notions of truthfulness common at the time. The latter part of the fourth century was very fruitful in pious frauds; it is not an unreasonable suggestion of incredulity that this may be another. If S. Chrysostom could deliberately recommend falsehood as a useful weapon for his clergy, it would not be very hard to believe that Sulpicius invented stories and pledged his faith in them (as they were contradicted[16]) in order to propagate the glory of the illustrious saint of Gaul. It was not for the glory of God that the work of His servant should suffer disparagement.

I cannot think, then, that the testimony of our witness, strong as it seems at first sight to be, is altogether above suspicion, and this suspicion is confirmed rather than lessened by the comparison which naturally suggests itself with the gospel

[14] III. 376. Ed. Milman.

[15] V.B.M. 27. "Ego mihi conscius sum me, rerum fide et amore Christi impulsum ut scriberem, manifesta exposuisse, vera dixisse! Dial. III., 5. Sed totius sermonis fidem, Christe, apud te deponimus, nos nec alia dixisse nec alia dicturos, quam quæ aut ipsi vidimus aut quæ manifestis auctoribus vel plerumeque ipso referente cognovimus."

[16] Dial. III., 5.

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miracles. It is, perhaps, too much to assert that no miracle should be recognised which cannot make as clear and strong a claim for itself as the latter, but the comparison is always instructive. The following are some of the points of contrast:—

(*a*) The miracles recorded by Sulpicius are ascribed to the most powerful and influential man in Gaul, one whose authority was greater even than that of the Emperor. When the Apostles preached, when the Evangelists wrote, the Christians were a small and persecuted sect: he to whom they ascribed miraculous power was the "despised and rejected of men."

(*b*) The witnesses were very different in the two cases. In the one instance they were monks, whose abnormal life tended to make them incapable judges of real objective occurrences; or ignorant and terror-stricken villagers, predisposed by nature to accept anything marvellous: in the other they were men who lived in a real world of living men and women, contact with which preserved the due balance of their faculties; or hard sceptical opponents, whose vigilant enmity rendered illusion impossible. Sometimes there was no publicity; an indication, it is said, of the humility of the saint.[17]

(*c*) The miracles were contradicted by some at the time of their publication, and even Sulpicius himself is afraid he may have gone a little too far. The

[17] When Martin became bishop, and consequently was better known, he believed that his power of working miracles was weakened. Dial. II., 4. His biographer also states that he was more known in distant countries than his own. Dial. I., 26.

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miracles of Christ were ascribed to Satanic influence, but so far as we know they were never denied. The boldness of the Evangelists contrasts with the tentative way in which Sulpicius proceeds.

(*d*) The character of the miracles ascribed to S. Martin. While some are puerile in the extreme, others have the appearance of being mere copies of the gospel miracles, with which they may have been confused.

(*e*) The object and character of the writings which embody the stories are very different in the two cases.

These reasons will appear to some insufficient to discredit the miracles imputed to S. Martin. They are not put forward here as absolutely decisive. The burden of proof rests with those who accept the miraculous, and use it to account for the success of his mission. There does not appear to the present writer sufficient ground for this method of procedure, and therefore it has seemed right to present the evidence with some fulness. On the other hand, this is not equivalent to the flat denial of the miraculous in S. Martin's history. It is rather in accordance with the point of view expressed by Dr. Arnold in the following sentences:—"Yet, again, if the gift of faith—the gift as distinguished from the grace—of the faith which removes mountains, has been given to any in later times in remarkable measure, the mighty works which such faith may have wrought cannot be incredible in themselves to those who remember our Lord's promise; and if it appears from satisfactory evidence that they were wrought actually, we shall believe them, and believe them with joy. Only as it

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is in most cases impossible to admit the trustworthiness of the evidence, our minds must remain at most in a state of suspense, and I do not know why it is necessary to come to any positive decision." [18]

It certainly does not seem necessary in the present instance, because the second assumption mentioned above does not appear tenable. The influence of S. Martin can be accounted for without assuming the presence of the supernatural (understood in the narrow acceptation of the term).

III.—Another explanation might be sought in the character of S. Martin. His striking and attractive personality made him a general favourite. We shall discover as we proceed some very admirable qualities —courage, humility, spirituality, the sense of humour (the almost invariable accompaniment of the great); [19] but, above all, generosity and sociability, sympathy with the poor and suffering—it was these characteristics which won the regard and love of men. He was a monk, but a monk of the most attractive type. He was a powerful bishop, but one who never lost his humility and his love for the people. He was strong enough to stand before kings, and rebuke them to their face, yet he never forsook the simplicity of life, the voluntary poverty which he had accepted for Christ's sake.

[18] Introd. Lectures, p. 135, *cp.* Cazenove, pp. 186-193, and for a different view Newman, Introd. to English Translation of Fleury, Ecc. Hist.

[19] No one, however, saw him laugh.—V. B. M. 27. Dr. Goldwin Smith attempted to show that even in the case of our Lord there was something at least akin to humour, and that the perfection of his humanity involved this feature among others. (Lectures on Study of History, Lect. IV.)

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No doubt in forming an estimate of his character something must be discounted from the enthusiastic portraiture of his pupil, but when full allowance has been made, we may see a character of unusual strength and beauty. The words of Alban Butler are hardly too emphatic: "The virtue of St. Martin, which was the miracle of the world, was founded in the most profound humility, perfect meekness, and self-denial, by which he was dead to himself, in a continual meditation on religious truths, and contempt of the world, to which his heart was crucified; lastly, in the constant union of his soul with God, by the exercise of holy prayer, and by the entire resignation of himself to the divine will without reserve. Such a disposition could not but be accompanied with the most ardent fraternal charity, zeal for the divine honour, and all other virtues."[20] If we are prepared to accept these statements as fairly correct, we shall not be very anxious to insist upon the magical powers ascribed to S. Martin. That remarkable signs should follow the labours of such a man is necessary. The power that worked them was supernatural. The legends that have gathered round his name are only blundering attempts to state the truth which all felt, that God was with him. We will look for the evidences of that fact, however, not in his reputed power over external nature, which at least must remain doubtful, but in his ascendancy over men, and in the work he was able to accomplish.

IV.—The character of S. Martin then was one

[20] "Lives of the Saints," Nov. 11.

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cause, and a most important one, of his lasting influence. This will not, however, prevent us from prosecuting the enquiry further. Men quite as saintly have lived and died in obscurity; they have not been honoured in their lifetime; their tombs have remained unvisited. Nor in the present case will superiority of mental endowment account for the difference. S. Martin wrote nothing. He does not appear to have been a lover of books. He has no literary fame like his friend S. Hilary. His work was of a different kind, requiring a large heart and a firm will rather than any very decided intellectual power. It will be the aim of this essay to describe the general features of that work, and to show how S. Martin, by his disposition and training on the one hand, and on the other, by taking advantage of the circumstances of the time, was enabled to accomplish it. This will afford the only adequate explanation of his widespread and enduring popularity.

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PART I.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE WORK.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOYHOOD OF S. MARTIN.

THE man who was to have so great an influence over the destinies of the French people was not born upon French soil, nor, so far as we can tell, of Gallic parentage. Tradition has not preserved the nationality of either of S. Martin's parents. The Romance of the Seven Sleepers, erroneously ascribed to Gregory of Tours, makes them, by a glaring anachronism, descendants of the Huns.[1] Attempts have been made to associate them with France. There is no ground for such a view, and the wish has probably been father to the thought. Both Sulpicius[2] and Sozomen[3] say that they belonged to Pannonia—the former that S. Martin was born there. As this country was peopled largely by Slavonians, it is not unlikely that S. Martin belonged to that race. Some have thought they discovered in his disposition the special characteristics of the Slavs—*e.g.*, their simplicity and

[1] Tillemont's comment is "C'est apparemment l'ouvrage de quelque Hongrois moine de Marmontier, qui n'ayant pas appris à prier et à travailler selon sa regle, ne savait à quoi passer son temps."—*Mem.* X., 771.

[2] V.B.M. 2. [3] III. 14.

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love of peace. But in the absence of more definite information the conjecture is uncertain. More interesting perhaps it is to recall the position Pannonia occupied as a province of the Empire. Like Gaul, it shared in the defence of the northern frontier. The barbarian hordes were continually threatening the Danube and Rhine territories, and consequently the countries bordering on these rivers were the scenes of the greatest military activity. This was not an unmixed evil for the countries concerned. It prevented stagnation, moral deterioration was not so rapid as in some parts of the empire. Many great names are associated especially with the Danube borderland. Decius, Aurelian, Jovian, and Gratian were born there. Severus, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius assumed the purple. Probus, Marcus Aurelius, and Valentinian died there.[4] Pannonia furnished some of the best troops of the empire. Beside defending their own piece of the frontier, soldiers raised there were sent into Gaul to assist the Gallic troops on the Rhine. The father of S. Martin had himself served in the army as military tribune, and was evidently a man of strong determination.[5]

The atmosphere in which S. Martin was born was therefore sufficiently vigorous, and it is perhaps not too fanciful to find in this fact the foundation for that strength of character and power of endurance which he possessed in such large measure. The rank

[4] See Dupuy, Introd., p. 3, and Reinkens, p. 4.

[5] Sulp. Sev., V. B. M. 2. "Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit."

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of military tribune corresponded roughly at this time with our colonel. He would therefore be of a fair social standing. This agrees with what Sulpicius [6] says, "Parentibus secundum sæculi dignitatem non infimis." Sozomen speaks of the family as a "noble" one.[7] Paulinus will not have it that he came of a poor stock.

> **Haud humili generatum stirpe, tribunus**
> **Nam genitor, clarus meritorum laude, sed iste**
> **Nobilior patribus.** [8]

This process of glorification went on until in the middle ages, according to M. de la Marche, "he counted in his lineage ten glorious saints of paradise, fourteen emperors, eight Cæsars, and eight kings."[9]

His father, though sprung from the ranks, was therefore in a fairly comfortable position, and the young Martin would not become acquainted at home with that abject poverty which was afterwards to make so deep an impression upon his mind.

Nor was it at home that he received his first impulses towards Christianity. Unlike several of the great men of the century he was not indebted for his piety to the prayers or influence of his mother. Both his parents were heathens. The usual picture is reversed. It is upon the son in after years that the conversion of the parents devolves.

At the time of S. Martin's birth, 316-7 A.D.,[10] there must have been many pagans in the army. The peace of the Church had been granted; under the

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[6] V. B. M. 2. [7] III. 14. [8] Migne, col. 1011. [9] p. 70.
[10] For the dates of Martin's life see Appendix I.

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fostering influence of Constantine the empire was becoming nominally Christian, but Paganism was still widely professed in all classes of the state. There was therefore nothing singular in the fact that S. Martin's parents still adhered to the old religion. If then Sulpicius is to be understood as stating something unusual when he contrasts their rank with their religious profession he must have been thinking of his own times rather than the first half of Constantine's reign.[11]

The native town of S. Martin was Sabaria. There have been three claimants for the honour. Until lately Stein-am-Auger has generally been regarded by writers as the modern equivalent. Now Martinsberg seems to be the favourite. The other town which has claimed to represent the ancient Sabaria is Sarwar.[12] The particular spot cannot, however, be regarded of importance. The fame of S. Martin's birthplace has long been eclipsed by that of other towns connected with him, and the exact locality is of no interest to us.

S. Martin had not to remain long in his native land. Before the age of ten his parents removed to Ticinus in Italy.[13] Dom. Chamard, a Benedictine monk, has suggested that the cause of the removal may have been the edict of Constantine, in which, as a

[11] "Parentibus secundum sæculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen." V.B.M., 2. Both Dupuy and L. de la Marche regard it as the expression of an exceptional fact.

[12] See Lightenberger, VIII. art. Martem, L. de la Marche, pp. 54-62, Dupuy I. 1, also Reinkens, p. 6, n. 2.

[13] Sulp. Sev. V. B. M. 2.

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recognition of his victory over Licinius, he gave his veterans their leave, and a grant of lands; and that S. Martin's father being included in the number had received a benefice in Italy.[14] If so, the date will be 324 A.D. The change was a very important one for the boy. He soon found much to excite his interest, and the influence of his surroundings proved stronger than those of home. At Pavia, or, perhaps, Milan, he finds a church which attracts his attention. He sees people of all ranks going to the services, and he wonders what it all means. One day, bolder than usual, he enters with the crowd, and is astonished at what he sees. He resolves to know more. Information is easily obtained, and at the age of ten, against the wish of his parents, he is enrolled as a catechumen. He then begins to learn something about the Christians. He hears how, only a few years ago, they had suffered cruel persecution, that many had died for their faith in Christ. His imagination is fired, and like the young Origen he longs to join the ranks of the martyrs. It is, however, no longer possible, for peace has been given to the Church. But, perhaps, he too could make some sacrifice. Tales were abroad about the Egytian monks who lived in the deserts a hard and self-denying life. He, too, would become a monk. His thoughts were always, says his biographer, about monasteries, and about the Church;[15] and at the age of twelve he determined to

[14] L. de la Marche, p. 72.

[15] "Animus tamen aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus meditabatur adhuc in ætate puerili." V.B.M. 2.

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be a hermit, but the feebleness of his years prevented him from carrying out his idea.[16]

There is nothing improbable in some such view as this. It certainly implies considerable precocity on the part of a child of ten or even twelve years of age, but it would not be difficult to find similar instances. Objection has also been taken on another ground. It has been said that monasticism was little known in the West at this early period, and that it was not likely to originate in the brain of a boy of twelve. Reinkens finds in this supposition an argument for the later date of S. Martin's birth. Athanasius, he says, had not yet visited the West, and so report of the Egyptian monks was not abroad.[17] It is true that the exile of Athanasius only took place in 336 A.D., or seven years later than the year in which S. Martin conceived the idea of becoming a hermit, and that the Life of S. Anthony had not yet been published, but although monasticism had not yet become the fashion, it was not unknown even in Italy, while in other parts of the world it had made greater progress. In the East, at Nisibis, there had been standing for some time a monastery of fifty nuns, one of whom, Febronia, had suffered martyrdom during the Diocletian persecution.[18] The "Acts of the Martyrs" shows traces of monasticism at Rome during the last persecutions. Soon after the peace of the Church,

[16] "Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conversus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupivit, fecissetque votis satis, si ætatis infirmitas non obstitisset." V. B. M. 2.

[17] Reinkens, p. 247. [18] Montalembert, I., p. 51.

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the daughter of Constantine founded a monastery for women on the tomb of S. Agnes.[19]

It is not necessary to suppose that S. Martin had any very definite conceptions about the monastic life. The sentiment had long been abroad, and when the era of persecution ceased, it developed with surprising rapidity. The monks took the place of the martyrs, and the deserts were soon peopled with innumerable solitaries.[20] "Persecution," says Bossuet, "made fewer solitaries than the peace and triumph of the Church. The Christians, so simple and so hostile to all luxury, were more afraid of a peace flattering to the senses than they had been of the cruelty of tyrants."[21] This was no doubt the spirit of the more earnest and enthusiastic, and amongst these we must place the young Martin, who had much yet to learn, but who had already discovered that Christianity, if real, meant sacrifice, and was eager to surrender himself. The want of sympathy at home urged him in the same direction, and led him to think of escaping from his uncongenial surroundings.

But a serious obstacle stood in the way. His father had no patience with his fancies, and resolved to give him some experience of practical life in the hope that his dreams might vanish. An edict had

[19] Montalembert, I., p. 139.

[20] "Mais il vint un moment où ce germe se developpa avec une fécundité prodigieuse. Ce fut à l'époque des dernières persécutions et des premières invasions des Barbares, entre le règne de Dèce et celui de Dioclétian." Montalembert, p. 50.

[21] Quoted by Montalembert, p. 55.

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been issued requiring the sons of veterans over the age of sixteen to be enrolled. Although not quite that age, his father gave him up. The boy resisted, but it was no use.[22] He was put into chains to prevent his escape, and had reluctantly to submit to the discipline of the camp. The carrying out of his project was postponed, but the time was not lost. The training was valuable; more important still, it was this circumstance that introduced him to the scene of his life's work.

[22] Sulp. Sev., V. B. M. 2.

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CHAPTER II.

MILITARY SERVICE.

ALTHOUGH compelled to enter upon a career which was distasteful to him, S. Martin proved, according to his biographers, a model soldier. He was generous and brave, and soon became a favourite both with officers and men. He had been enrolled in the cavalry.[1] He would consequently have a horse and servant,[2] and be entitled to double pay. Of this he only kept sufficient to meet his daily wants; the rest he distributed among the poor. His frugality was conspicuous. He was already as much monk as soldier. Instead of being waited upon by his servant, it was the master oftener that served. His charity, patience, and humility were the wonder of all.[3] Nor did he neglect his duty as a soldier. If we may trust the testimony of Sozomen, he fought with special valour, and was raised to the command of armies.[4]

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[1] "Inter scholares alas." Tillemont thought that this could not mean cavalry, as there is no mention of a horse belonging to Martin. P. 772.

[2] Codex Theod. Haenel VII., xxii. 2. "Si autem veteranorum filii, qui equestrem militiam toleraverunt, inter equites probari voluerint, habeant facultatem, ita ut cum singulis equis idoneis prædicto aggregentur obsequio. Quod si quis duos equos habeat, vel unum idoneum, et servum unum, cum circuitoria militet dignitate, et binas annonas accipiat, qui gradus præbetur aliis post laborem." An. 326 A.D.

[3] Sulp. Sev., V. B. M. 2. [4] III. 14.

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But he did not lose his first longings. These continued to gain in intensity during those years until an incident occurred which brought matters to a crisis. The story is specially interesting, as it reveals to us thus early the most attractive side of S. Martin's character, and shows us what it was that chiefly occupied his thoughts at this time. During his sojourn in Gaul he was much impressed by the poverty and social distress apparent everywhere. His heart was moved with sympathy as one and another of his companions told him how they had fled to the army to escape the certain starvation that had threatened them; how wives and little ones had been snatched from them and sold into slavery, because they could not pay their debts, nor satisfy the exorbitant demands of the taxgatherer. Their doleful tales were confirmed by what he saw himself. If, as is likely, he held the position of Circuitor,[5] he would have special opportunities for observing the state of the country. Many were the cases of distress that came under his notice, but it was little that he could do. His own scanty earnings were soon spent.

One winter the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Amiens. The weather was unusually severe, and many were dying from the effects of the cold. One of these poor unclad beggars met him at the gate of the city and implored help. S. Martin having nothing else to give divided his own cloak with his sword, and gave half to the starving man. When he rejoined his companions some were inclined

[5] See Note 2, p. 12.

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to laugh at the strange appearance of the young officer: others approved of the act and felt ashamed of themselves. The same night Christ appeared to S. Martin attended with a company of angels and said, "Martin, still a catechumen, has covered me with his garment." "At which vision," says Sulpicius, "the blessed man was not elated."[6] This could hardly have been the effect produced: the words contained a reproof as well as an acknowledgment of service rendered, and caused serious searchings of heart. "Still a catechumen": Why had he not been baptised and ratified his profession? May there not also have been an additional rebuke intelligible to the sensitive conscience of S. Martin? While in the army he was only rendering a divided service. It was little that he could do for Christ's poor while he remained there. Had there been complete renunciation? What meant the vision of the *half*-clothed Christ? At any rate, S. Martin made the two-fold resolve, to seek baptism and to leave the army.

It is natural that this incident should have lived in the imaginations of men. It is the one story by which S. Martin has chiefly been remembered. Art has done much to familiarize people with it.[7] Louis XI. ordained the ceremony of entertaining a poor man dressed in a robe of two colours to commemorate the dividing of the mantle, and this was to be duly performed in the church of S. Martin at Tours.[8] A chapel was also erected upon the spot at Amiens.

[6] V. B. M. 3. [7] Cahier Car. des Saints, I., p. 209, etc.
[8] Gervaise, p. 10.

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The commemoration most in keeping with the spirit of the incident has, however, been only lately inaugurated, a society having been formed at Versailles under his invocation, to assist old soldiers, their widows, and orphans.[9]

S. Martin was not long in carrying out his first resolve. He hastened to baptism.[10] The place is not known. The tradition which makes him receive it at Constantinople at the hands of Paul is extremely improbable. Others have suggested Poitiers. But it would not be necessary to go so far, and he was probably baptised at Amiens or some neighbouring town. In this case no long absence was required. There was nothing unusual in deferring baptism till very late in life, and S. Martin was in advance of his times rather than behind them in receiving it at so early an age as twenty-two. The practice varied considerably in the fourth century, but when a superstitious veneration began to be attached to the rite, it was often delayed.

Two years elapsed before the second resolution was put into effect. This was not due to any wavering of intention, nor, it would seem, to the necessities of his service. He returned to the army, but was a soldier only in name. Sulpicius tells us that the reason why he did not at once obtain his dismissal was his anxiety for the welfare of a tribune with whom he was intimate.[11] He went back that he might gain him for Christ.

[9] L. de la Marche, p. 642.

[10] "Convolavit ad baptismum." V. B. M. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*

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The question of the length of S. Martin's military life is one of great difficulty, and after all the efforts of his biographers, remains still undetermined. Something will be said upon the subject in the Appendix,[12] and reasons given for following the view advanced by M. de la Marche, and, in part, by others also. The arguments advanced by these writers cannot be considered as absolutely decisive. The evidence will appear of different weight to different minds. All that can be said is, that a fairly strong case has been made out for the view they adopt.

All agree that S. Martin was enrolled at the age of fifteen. M. de la Marche assumes that for some time he would have to submit to a course of training, and would not at once be sent into Gaul. Following a various reading of Sulpicius he places the baptism at twenty-two instead of eighteen years of age, and so makes S. Martin leave the army at the age of twenty-four after having served (preparation and active service) not five years and not twenty-five years, but nine. This brings us to the year 340 or 341 A.D. At this time Constans (known also by his other name, Julius) was comanding in Gaul, and from this Prince S. Martin sought his dismissal. The army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Worms, and on the eve of a battle against the barbarians the soldiers received a donative. S. Martin thought this a suitable occasion for demanding his leave, and when his turn came to receive the pay he refused it, saying to the Cæsar, "Thus far I have served thee, suffer me now

[12] Appendix I.

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to serve God. Let one who is about to fight receive thy donative. I am a soldier of Christ. It is not permitted me to fight." The "tyrant" was enraged, and declared that it was fear and not religion that suggested the demand. "As you accuse me of cowardice, to-morrow unarmed and protected only by the sign of the cross I will penetrate the ranks of the enemy." Constans ordered him to be kept in ward till the next day that he might put him to the proof. The following day, however, peace was declared and S. Martin liberated. "Who can doubt," says the historian, "that this was indeed the victory of the blessed man, to whom it was given, that he might not be sent unarmed into the battle; for although the good Lord could have kept his soldier unhurt amid the swords and darts from the enemy, nevertheless that the saints should not be polluted by the death of others he took away the necessity of the battle."[13]

If the present view is the correct one, the incident has been wrongfully associated with the name of Julian the Apostate. The similarity of names would account for the confusion. The attempt to clear a Christian Cæsar of his disagreeable share in the transaction and ascribe it to the heathen Julian would be only too gladly made. We actually have an instance of this ecclesiastical bigotry in later times. Tillemont admits that Sulpicius[14] was deceived when he said that S. Martin served under Julian, but cannot suppress the wish that it had been otherwise—"Mais

[13] Sulp. Sev. V. B. M. 4.

[14] Or due to copyist, X., 773.

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puisque S. Sulpice traite ce Jule ou Julien de tyran, nous aimons mieux supposer qu'il a voulu en effet marquer Julien l'apostat."

The whole story is more or less suspicious, and may have been an invention of later times. But beyond the improbability of such an occurrence, and the remarkable coincidence it implies, there is nothing to be said against it. The reason S. Martin assigns for his departure must be understood as referring to his intention to abandon the secular life and become a monk: the cause of the Cæsar's wrath as due, not to the fact that S. Martin was a Christian, but to his demanding dismissal just before an impending battle.

S. Martin was now free to follow the bent of his nature, and to commence the work of his life. His first efforts were naturally upon a much smaller scale and less notorious than those of his episcopacy. As they were also similar in kind, it is, perhaps, better to regard them as a preparation for the latter, and concentrate attention chiefly upon the later stage, when his plans were fully developed and he was able to carry them out with all the advantages that his position as bishop of Tours gave him. In doing so we are following the example of Sulpicius, who devotes only a few short chapters to the remaining years of S. Martin's pre-episcopal life. The following chapter will give some account of these first undertakings.

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST ATTEMPTS.

ACCORDING to the system of dates adopted, S. Martin left the army in the year 341 A.D. From that event to the visit which he paid to S. Hilary (the next incident recorded by Sulpicius) is a period of about nine years. History has not preserved any record of what passed during this interval. Legend, however, has attempted to fill up the gap. When S. Martin was at Worms he was not far from Trèves, the town of S. Maximin. To this holy bishop S. Martin, it is said, betook himself, and the two became attached to each other. Among other projects with which they busied themselves was the idea of visiting Rome, that they might see the tomb of the blessed apostle S. Peter. Accordingly about 346 A.D. we find them journeying thither in company. Stopping at the small town of Urseria, on the right bank of the Rhine, S. Martin went into the village to buy provisions, leaving S. Maximin to look after the ass and baggage. The bishop unfortunately fell asleep, and while he slept a bear came out of the neighbouring forest, ran off with the unlucky ass, and ate it. S. Martin, returning to his companion, finds the faithful beast has gone. "What have you done, brother Maximin?" he exclaimed. The bishop replied that

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he had been overcome with sleep. "But where is the ass?" This he did not know until S. Martin pointed to the guilty bear, which was still in sight. "It is a very bad business," said S. Maximin. They knew how to make the best of it, nevertheless. The ferocious beast was called. "Come, follow me. Since thou has been so foolish as to dispose of our ass thou shalt bear our baggage, thou thyself shalt fulfil its office." The animal obeyed, and laden with its burden accompanied them to Rome. On arriving they left the bear outside the city, and hastened to pay their devotions at the sacred spot. When they returned they found it patiently waiting for them, and resumed their journey home. When they had no further use for the bear they dismissed it, saying: "Go now where thou wilt, but take care not to hurt anybody and none shall hurt thee."[1] M. de la Marche cannot see his way to accept the legend in its entirety, but thinks that the embellishments should not prevent us from seeing a substratum of fact. It points clearly to a journey to Rome, "which is, in the order of facts very probable, and it is pleasant to think that one of his (Martin's) first cares after having regained his independence and before starting upon his apostolic career was to go to the prince of the apostles and to his successor to ask for the force, the inspiration, the constancy, which make confessors and martyrs."[2]

[1] The legend belongs to the eighth century. See Dupuy I., 2. L. de la Marche, p. 129. The monks of S. Maximin are said to have preserved the walking sticks used by the saints on this journey!

[2] L. de la Marche, p. 132.

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Considering the tendency to connect all the saints with Rome, the candid enquirer will not find confirmation of the tradition in the motive assigned here, but rather an additional reason for discrediting not simply the story of the bear, but the whole legend which embodies it. On the other hand, it is within the range of possibility that S. Martin had relations of some kind with the Bishop of Trèves, as the latter did not die until the year 348 A.D.; but in the absence of sufficient evidence it must remain conjectural. So, too, must his supposed connection with S. Athanasius. S. Athanasius was at Trèves in 336 A.D., about which time S. Martin was probably sent into Gaul. But there is no indication that the two ever met.

When we come to the visit to S. Hilary we are on surer ground. Whether introduced to that part of Gaul by S. Maximin, whose brother Maxentius was S. Hilary's predecessor in the see of Poitiers, or not,[3] about the year 350 A.D. S. Martin is found at Poitiers. S. Hilary was very pleased to see him, and desired to ordain him deacon. Although repeatedly urged, he would not consent. He felt himself unworthy of the office.[4] There may, however, have been another reason for his refusal. He did not wish to be enrolled among the regular clergy. He still wished to be a monk. Afraid of appearing proud, it is said, if he refused the humble position of exorcist, he was induced by S. Hilary to accept this lower office, which was sometimes held by laymen. To a man of S. Martin's temperament the position would not be

[3] L. de la Marche, p. 135.

[4] Sulp. Sev., V. B. M. 5.

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unwelcome. A constant warfare waged against the powers of darkness was full of attraction to this young and ardent "miles Dei." He had found his vocation. Henceforth he is repeatedly engaged in the contest. The Devil is his sworn enemy throughout life, and even on his death-bed does not leave the saint in peace. The last-recorded words of Martin breathe defiance. Beholding the Demon near him he cries out, "What art thou waiting for there, O cruel beast? Thou wilt find nothing in me, O deadly one. Abraham's bosom is receiving me."[5] He never lost his vivid consciousness of the reality of the world of spirits; he was an exorcist to the end.

We should entirely misrepresent S. Martin's character, however, if we regarded him as a mere visionary. The next incident shows us that he had human instincts and recognised his duty as a son. He remembered his parents still living in heathenism, and determined to try to save them. So having promised S. Hilary that he would return, he set out for Pannonia. Was there some shadow of regret as he thought of home? Had his hasty conduct in demanding dismissal from the army robbed his parents of their land and home in Italy? If so, he must have felt that the temporal misfortune he had brought upon them laid a heavier responsibility on him to do what he could for their eternal welfare; he must have recognized, too, how much more difficult his errand would be, and wondered how he would be able to explain his strange conduct. Whether this

[5] Sulp. Sev., Ep. 3, 16.

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hesitation was the cause or not (and it is not the only occasion on which a Satanic appearance can be thus explained), the historian tells us that the Devil appeared to S. Martin on his journey. This time he assumed human form, and asked him whither he was going. S. Martin replied, "Wherever the Lord shall call me." "Wherever you go," the stranger said, "you will be tempted, the Devil will oppose you." S. Martin made answer in the words of Scripture, "The Lord is my help, I will not fear. What can man do unto me?" Whereupon the Devil vanished.[6] In crossing the Alps he fell among robbers. Having narrowly escaped being killed, he was bound and committed to the charge of one of the men. The latter wanted to know who he was, and whether he was not afraid. He replied that he was a Christian, and had never felt so secure. The conversation was continued, and resulted in the conversion of the robber, from whose lips Sulpicius says he had the story.[7]

The success of this first missionary journey was only partial. S. Martin succeeded in gaining his mother over to Christianity, but his father remained obdurate.

It was not the heathen alone for whom he felt concerned. Illyria was one of the strongholds of Arianism, and S. Martin took the opportunity which his visit afforded to try to win over the heretics to the true faith. His conversations with S. Hilary had, no doubt, inflamed his mind against this error, but there

[6] V. B. M. 6. [7] V. B. M. 5.

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was certainly more zeal than discrimination in this attempt of the enthusiastic but untrained exorcist to reform the province of Valens and Ursacius. It was only natural that the dominant party should feel annoyed at a Gallic zealot, who was not even a deacon, interfering in their domain. It is not surprising then that, having beaten S. Martin publicly, they drove him away.[8]

Soon after his departure on his homeward journey he heard of the exile of his friend S. Hilary. Constantius, acting probably under representations made to him by Saturninus of Arles, had taken a dislike to S. Hilary, who was doing such good service for orthodoxy in Gaul, and in the year 356 A.D. banished him into Phrygia. Instead of completing his journey he lingered in Italy, and made himself a monastery at Milan. He was not, however, allowed to remain here, for he was discovered by the Arian leader Auxentius and driven out of the city. Along with a faithful presbyter he took refuge in the island of Gallinaria near Genoa. Here he lived some time, subsisting upon the roots of herbs. Having one day eaten some hellebore by mistake he felt the poison working in his veins, and knew that death was near. At his earnest prayer, however, he was saved; all pain immediately fled.[9]

Constantius finding that S. Hilary was quite as troublesome in the East as in the West, allowed him to return to his own diocese. S. Martin, hearing the good news, endeavoured to meet his friend at Rome.

[8] V. B. M. 6. [9] *Ibid.*

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He had just gone. S. Martin followed, and either overtook him on the journey or arrived soon afterwards at Poitiers. This was in the year 362 A.D. Not far from this town, at a place called Ligure, S. Martin built a monastery, and there, enjoying the friendship of S. Hilary, spent the next few years in comparative seclusion. The kind of life S. Martin lived in his monasteries will be better described when we come to the establishment of Marmoutier. He was not a strict recluse, but took considerable interest in the world outside his wild retreat. It is probable that he now began his evangelistic work in the neighbouring villages, but besides the death of S. Hilary in 368 A.D. no event is recorded by Sulpicius. Two miracles, however, belong to this period.[10]

S. Martin being absent on one occasion from the monastery, a catechumen was seized with a malignant fever and died. Additional distress was caused by the fact that the man had not been baptised, and when S. Martin returned after three days he found the brethren overwhelmed with sorrow. He entered the cell where the lifeless body lay, and having, like Elisha, prayed and stretched himself upon the corpse, life was restored. The report of this miraculous event, spread far and wide, reaching even to the East, and added greatly to the veneration with which S. Martin was beginning to be regarded. The news which the catechumen brought back from the other world confirmed the prevailing awe. He told how, as soon as the soul was separated from the body, he

[10] V. B. M. 748.

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was conducted along with many others into regions of darkness, and was placed before the tribunal of a severe judge. Two angels, however, represented to the judge that S. Martin was praying for him, and so he was immediately restored.

The second is very similar. As he was passing through the estates of a man named Lupicinus, he saw a crowd, and heard a confused noise, as of many voices. He turned aside, and discovered that the cause of the excitement was the suicide of one of the servants. Anxious to avert, if possible, the eternal ruin of the poor man, he liberated the body from the noose, and having, as before, stretched himself upon the corpse, succeeded in restoring life. He then brought out the man from the chamber (for they had been alone) and showed him to the astonished crowd.

All this time, so far as we know, S. Martin retained his humble position of exorcist. Gervaise[11] thought that he must have been ordained priest, because immediately after his restoration the catechumen spoken of above, received baptism, and probably at the hands of S. Martin. M. de la Marche thinks he was a deacon at this time.[12] Sulpicius does not mention any higher orders being conferred upon him, and it would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the age for S. Martin to be elected to the episcopate without passing through the intermediate stages. The case of S. Ambrose is even a more striking example of the irregularity of the times.

[11] p. 49. [12] p. 161.

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The kindly disposition of S. Martin, his reputed power of working miracles, his connection with S. Hilary, and his novel and successful establishment at Liguré, all conspired to bring him into notoriety, and to raise him into favour with the people. He could no longer remain in obscurity. The people of Tours resolved to have him for their bishop. But how to persuade him to leave Liguré was the question. As in the case of S. Chrysostom and the Constantinopolitans, recourse was had to fraud. A certain man named Rusticius pretended that his wife was very ill, and prayed S. Martin to come and heal her. As he entered the town the crowd surrounded him and prevented escape. People had come from the neighbouring villages to support the candidature of this popular monk, and loudly insisted that Martin was worthy of the episcopate. A few detractors were found. Some bishops pointed to his dishevelled hair and dirty appearance, and said such a man was unworthy of the office. The popular enthusiasm proved too strong for them, however, and an incident occurred which demonstrated very clearly to all minds that S. Martin was the chosen of heaven. Among the disappointed bishops was one named Defensor. It so happened that the reader for the day was absent, and to supply his place one of the crowd opened the Psalter and read from the eighth psalm the words—"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." In his version, the last word was not "avenger," but "defender"—ut destruas inimi-

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cum et *defensorem.* A clearer sign could not have been given. His adversaries were put to confusion, and S. Martin elected to the episcopate amid the shouts of the populace.[13]

[13] V. B. M. 9.

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PART II.

THE SPHERE OF WORK.

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PART II.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF GAUL.

IN order to understand the work to which S. Martin was now to devote himself it will be necessary to review briefly the state of Gaul politically, socially, and religiously. The last aspect naturally appears, at first sight, the most important to consider. Martin was a bishop, monk, and saint. He had exchanged the life of the camp and the service of the world for the higher ministry to which he believed Christ had called him. Henceforth he was concerned to establish as far as possible a pure and true form of religion to supply the place of the lifeless heathenism which was everywhere around him. But his conception of duty was a large one. It meant something more than the working out of his own salvation, something more than ensuring the safety of men in a world to come. He was anxious to improve their lot in this. His long life among the Gauls had opened his eyes to the evils they had to endure, and had made him long to release them from some at least of

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their heavy burdens. The warm sympathetic heart which had caused him to share with the poor half-starved beggar of Amiens the cloak so necessary for his own comfort, and which had led him to throw in his lot with the people, sought to find a remedy for the evils he himself had shared. His opportunity had now come. He had gained the confidence of the people: he had been elected bishop by their enthusiasm: he has now to plead their cause and vindicate their rights. He is not simply a preacher, an ecclesiastic, a monk; he is a friend of the poor and a saviour of men. It will, perhaps, need a little effort on our part to look upon even a fourth century saint in this light. Saints have not always shown the same active interest in the welfare of the masses. They have often lived in isolation, thinking more of their own salvation than the claims of suffering humanity. When they have been touched with compassion by the sorrows and needs of men (and it would be ungrateful as well as untrue to deny that many have been) they have rarely, from want of opportunity or disposition, so thoroughly identified themselves with a popular cause as did S. Martin. It is necessary to remember this if we wish to appreciate his amazing influence and lasting popularity. "Sprung from the ranks of the people," says the Duc de Broglie, "Martin had kept their language and customs: he had also been able to preserve their affections. In villages, in the smallest hamlets beyond even the limits of his diocese, his name was on all lips, his ascendancy without bounds. That which Theodosius did with great difficulty by his

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magistrates and lictors in the East, Martin did in Gaul by the mere attraction of his example and by the enthusiasm which his rustic animated word could evoke. In this apostle who spoke their language, and whose heart was moved with pity at the sight of their sufferings, these poor colonists of Gaul, crushed under the foot of secular tyranny, greeted with love the ambassador of the God who was born in a manger, who hears the sighs of the oppressed."[1] That gospel so proclaimed was indeed a message of good tidings, and it was only necessary that the preacher should put into practice the truths he taught, to have at his call the strongest forces in Gaul. This, owing to the circumstances of the time, he had the rare good fortune to do on a hitherto unknown scale.

Although the Gauls had been possessed beyond many peoples with the love of freedom, and the spirit of comradeship, they had never possessed any national existence. Even during the days of their independence they did not combine to form a state. Too mobile and fond of change for any settled and orderly constitution, they preferred the more precarious life of tribe and clan. They had no unity. They often fought among themselves. When attacked by a foreign power they would associate with their nearest neighbours for mutual defence, but when the danger was passed they relapsed into their former state of isolation. They had no common organisation, language or aim. According to some

[1] "L'Église et L'Empire Romain," Part III., p. 200.

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geographers, as many as three or four hundred different tribes were settled in Gaul.[2] These were grouped according to race under the three important designations, Iberians, Celts, and Belgæ, who were a mixture of Celts and Germans. The Iberians occupied the country in the south, between the Pyrenees and the R. Garonne; the Celts the central portion between the Garonne and Seine; and the Belgæ in the north of Gaul. This diversity will be important to bear in mind when considering S. Martin's missionary journeys. The field of his work was chiefly in the central or Celtic portion which had been the stronghold of the Druids; but as a political force his influence was not confined to any one of these divisions. Even at this early period they seem to have tried different methods of government and been satisfied with none. Kings had given place to an oligarchy of nobles or landed proprietors, and these in their turn were not allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the sovereign power. The people had asserted their claim to a share in the government. "It seems probable," says M. Rambaud, "that the resistance to the Romans coincided with this popular democratic movement. The hero of national independence (Vercingetorix) was chased out of the country by the same aristocracy who had caused his father to be burnt, and brought back by warriors belonging to the popular class."[3]

Such, then, was the unsettled state of the country

[2] According to others one hundred. Rambaud, "Civil. en France." I., 2, 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

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when the Romans took possession of Gaul. The people were not without spirit; perhaps even national aspirations were beginning to assert themselves; but a nation they had not become. The policy of Rome was certainly not to encourage these patriotic feelings, but to extinguish them as effectually as possible. On the one hand, by treating with great severity the leaders of any insurrection against her authority, and on the other, by holding out the bribe of citizenship, she sought to incorporate into the Empire, so soon to show signs of decay, the energy and resources which Gaul could supply.

This policy was indicated as early as Augustus. He began in real earnest the civilization of Gaul, which meant the Romanizing of it. Roman rule and Roman manners were to obliterate all traces of the ancient Gallic constitution and customs. Gallic memories were to be quenched by the ambition of sharing in the grandeur of the Eternal City. Henceforth the way of advancement was to throw aside the language and manners of their fathers and adopt those of the conquerors. This some of them were not slow to do. Very soon towns sprang up all over Gaul, modelled after the plan of Rome, extending the knowledge of Roman law and civilization, and aiding in the conquest of Gallic traditions. Druidism, as fostering national spirit, was looked upon with a suspicion uncommon among the Romans towards the religion of a conquered people.[4] Augustus interdicted the rites

[4] Probably the only other instance is the attitude of Rome towards the Jews.

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of Druidism to those who had become Roman citizens, and subsequent emperors dealt severely with those who clung to the old superstitions. This was not due to any dislike to Druidism as a religion. It mattered little to Rome of what religion the people were. She was ready to patronise any respectable cult which did not make itself disagreeable. It was because it kept alive in the hearts of the people the love of liberty which even Rome with all her menaces and all her enticements could not wholly eradicate.

It was not to be expected that the Gauls would submit quietly to this Romanizing process. The freedom and warlike independence of their fathers must have seemed preferable to the yoke of Rome. Roman roads, towns, and games were no doubt acceptable, but it was soon discovered that they were not the free gift of their magnanimous conquerors. Such benefits could be enjoyed only in return for the labour of their own hands. It may have been this forced labour and increased burden of taxation, added to their slighted religious convictions, that led to two risings in the reign of the next emperor, Tiberius. There was, however, nothing that could be called a national insurrection, and the small disturbances were soon put down. Caligula, so far as he can be said to have had any policy at all, adopted milder methods of reconciliation. He visited the country, instituted games and various competitions, and tried to impress the people in that way with the grandeur and resources of the empire. On these occasions, however, his conduct was such a strange mixture of madness, frivolity, and cruelty, that he must have done more to alienate than win the affections of his subjects.

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He was succeeded by Claudius. This prince was born on Gallic soil, and so far reversed the attitude of his predecessors as to boast of his un-Roman sympathies. Two important events marked his reign. He gave to all the Gauls the enjoyment of the political rights which had hitherto belonged only to Italy. They were henceforth citizens of Rome, and their nobles aspired to be senators. On the other hand, he dealt a severe blow upon national feeling by rigorously proscribing Druidism. Nero also visited Gaul, and after the burning of Lyons contributed a very large sum of money towards the rebuilding of the city. Yet it was the Gallic Governor of the Lyonnese province, Julius Vindex, who was a prime mover in the insurrection which caused his death. Under the Flavian emperors the country was still more unsettled. The continual change of emperors could not be favourable to the authority of Rome in any of the provinces. The Gauls were ready to take advantage of the prevailing confusion and instability of the sovereign power. Right in the centre of the Celtic province, Maricus, gathering a small band of followers around him, proclaimed himself the vindicator of the Gauls and of God. This insurrection was not formidable. Tacitus considers it hardly worthy of a place in his history.[5] Maricus was captured and thrown to the beasts by Vitellius. But soon after there was a more serious uprising. In the north, Civilis, along with some of the German tribes, espoused the cause of the discontented Gauls and

[5] Hist. II., 61.

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their ambitious but ill-fated leader Julius Sabinus. This warrior claimed to be a descendant of the great Julius, and, assuming the title of Cæsar, called the people to arms in the name of the Gallic Empire. The Druids came forth from their retreats, where they had hidden since the edict of Claudius, and united with Sabinus in declaring that the Roman Empire was at an end—that the Gallic Empire was now beginning. They could not, however, make any successful resistance. Civilis soon made peace, and Sabinus found himself deserted. For nine years he escaped the punishment the Romans were anxious to inflict, by hiding in a cave, and then, along with his wife Epomina, the faithful partner of his misfortunes, he was executed by Vespasian.

The hopelessness of rebellion seems to have been thoroughly learnt. There is no important display of national feeling for the next hundred and fifty years. Not that the Gauls find no place in history during this long period. One of the Antonines, whose high personal character and genuine care for civilization gave at least an outward brilliance to the age in which they lived, was a native of Gaul. But even Antoninus Pius could do little for the land of his birth. "The degradation of society," says Guizot, "went on increasing; taxation became intolerable, agriculture neglected. There was no freedom or vitality in politics, no discussion, no public responsibility. Character was weakened by indolence and silence, or destroyed by despotic power, or corrupted by the intrigues of the court or army."[6]

[6] "Hist. de la France," I., 5.

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Then followed a time not only of political oppression but also of anarchy. In the next hundred and thirty years there were no fewer than thirty-nine sovereigns. Some of these, notably Caracalla, who extended the privilege of Roman citizenship, which Claudius had given to the Gauls, to all the provinces of the Empire, were Gauls. But it mattered nothing to the people crushed under the burden of intolerable taxation that one of their countrymen had been elected by the army to the perilous position of a Roman emperor. It did not make their lot any more endurable to know that a Gaul rather than an Illyrian or African or anyone else was the agent of the extortion and cruelty which made life a continual burden. At last they could endure no longer. Under the two "tyrants," Amandus and Aelianus, they commenced in the year 285 A.D., a great insurrection. The peasants and slaves, driven to desperation, escaped from their masters, and, assembling in northern Gaul, overran the country between the Rhine and the Loire, plundering everywhere, But this could not last long. They were compelled again to settle down to their miserable lot. The war of the Bagaudæ was over.

When Diocletian became emperor he felt that something must be done not only for the prosperity of the empire but for the safety of the Emperor. Accordingly, he introduced a radical change into the government. The empire being too much for any one man, he associated with himself as Augustus his fellow-countryman, Maximian. Six years later, Galerius and Constantius were chosen Cæsars. There were thus four rulers instead of one. In the distribu-

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tion of præfectures which followed, Gaul fell to the lot of Constantius Chlorus. He was a wise and humane ruler, and secured the good will both of Christians and pagans. His son (afterwards Constantine the Great) succeeded him, and, relying upon the bravery of his Gallic troops, claimed the empire. His victory may have helped to raise the hopes of the Gauls, but even he could do little to mitigate their hardships,[7] and on his death the country passed into the hands of his eldest son, Constantine. The latter reigned only three years, and then was killed in a battle fought against his younger brother, Constans. After ten years Constans perished in the revolt of Magnentius, and Constantius was sole Emperor.

At this time Gaul was suffering from continued invasions of the Germans, who kept pressing upon the Rhine frontier. This was the occasion of the important visit of Julian. In the year 356 A.D. he entered Gaul in triumph. The people received him with great enthusiasm. The picture drawn by Ammianus Marcellinus suits better the return of a victorious general than the advent of the young Cæsar about to

[7] Michelet (I. 104) is not right in saying that Christianity could do nothing for the material sufferings of society. If Constantine's legislation was insufficient to stay the growing evils of society, it did something, nevertheless, to mitigate them. But what Constantine could not do as Emperor, the Church, as a social and religious institution, attempted. Under Martin and his successors much was done to alleviate suffering. Not only was sympathy shown with the oppressed, but attempts were made to remove the causes of the prevailing distress. The economist of the present day might not approve of all that was done, but so bad was the state of things that any attempt was better than none.

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begin his most difficult undertaking. But even if highly coloured, it shows something of the state of public feeling. "When he arrived at Vienne people of every age and class went forth to meet him as he entered the city, that they might honour him by receiving him as one long looked for and now granted to their prayers. When they saw him in the distance the whole population of the city and of the adjacent neighbourhood, going before his chariot, celebrated his praises, saluting him as emperor, clement and prosperous, . . . and they placed all their hopes of a remedy for the evils which affected the whole province on his advent, thinking that now, when affairs were most desperate, some friendly genius had come to shine upon them." The excitement was also partly from religious causes. A blind woman in the crowd enquiring who the Cæsar Julian was, received answer, "It is he who will restore the temples and the worship of the gods."[8]

Julian's administration partially justified this expression of national, or rather popular feeling. He began in earnest the attempt to establish order and security. The people trusted him, and entertained high hopes of the work he would accomplish. During the short time he was with them he did much. "He had transformed Gaul into an isolated kingdom, whose history during these four years is detached entirely from the annals of the rest of the world."[9] At the end of that time there came an order from Constantius to send some of his best troops. The

[8] Amm Marc., XV. 8. [9] De Broglie, II., 53.

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only way of retaining his influence in Gaul was to make an attempt upon the Empire. If he remained where he was, he knew that all would be lost. He was successful, but it was not for the advantage of Gaul. Julian was occupied elsewhere, and had no time to think about improving the condition of the Western provinces, even if that was possible. His short reign of two years was soon over.

Such, in brief outline, had been the fortunes of Gaul under Roman rule before S. Martin came forward as the last hope of a despairing people. Experience had taught them that change of government brought no release from their bondage: that it was in vain to look to any emperor, however well disposed, for any permanent amelioration of their condition. The bulk of the people had long ceased to interest themselves in Imperial affairs: they had never had any real interest in what was going on. They were not represented or consulted. Their rights were not regarded. They were looked upon as a valuable supply for the army, or as capable of furnishing some increase to an exhausted treasury, and that was all. They had never learnt to regard themselves as citizens. How could they when the name designated little more than a person who was required to pay taxes? "They heard of the rise and fall of new Cæsars, of Imperial victories and defeats, of invasions of Italy, and of mutinies among the Prætorian Guard with that kind of indifference which we may suppose the people of the Carnatic to have received the intelligence of our recent wars in the Punjaub or of the succession of Governors-

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General at Calcutta."[10] At length they were willing to sell their services and themselves to the highest bidder, willing to fight for anyone who would pay them.

There was, however, one organization still possessed of life, and appealing directly to the sympathies of the people. This was the Church. Profiting by the powerlessness of the State and its institutions,[11] as well as by virtue of her own inherent vitality, she was able to take the place which the Empire had failed to gain in the interests of the people. Her organization was strong and stable. There was much in her services and ministry, as well as in the gospel she professed to teach, that was attractive. Most important of all these secondary causes was the freedom that still remained. The right of popular election was asserted. The people had nothing to do with the election of their political chiefs. The municipal offices, once filled up by popular choice, were now imposed by the State: they could elect their bishops. Both the leaders in this democratic movement, S. Ambrose and S. Martin, had been elected by popular vote, and even in defiance of ecclesiastical usage. But the very fact that such a thing was possible made the Church for the time being the most popular of all institutions.

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[10] Sir James Stephen, Lect. II., p. 58. Written in 1857.

[11] "L'Église a passé de la captivité à la domination, non par une force embrunteé aux décret des princes et à l'épée des soldats, mais au contraire, par la faiblesse demonstrée de tous secours materiels et de tous les appuis humains." De Broglie, III., 9, 432.

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The position of the bishops was further strengthened by a law passed by Valentinian in 365 A.D. instituting a new office, that of Defensor. His duty was to see that justice was done, and he was to be elected by the people. This office was frequently held by the ministers of the Church. The people preferred some one who lived among them to a passing stranger, and the bishops became more powerful than the Imperial governors.

The growth of the power of the Church had been very rapid. While the Empire was showing signs of decay and already tottering to its fall, Christianity had been gaining a firmer hold upon the minds of men until it had become the most powerful bond of union and the most effective motive power in the Empire. Constantine, while yet a mere youth at Nicomedia, had seen how the Christians could suffer. It was the strength of Christianity in Gaul that made him profess Christianity. He had discovered its enormous utility as a political force. He therefore adopted it. Then began the contest for supremacy between Church and State. Under Constantius the Church was too divided by controversies in doctrine to oppose a solid front to the despotism of the State. Constantius tried to be master in both. While the Arians were still powerful there was some hope of success. Had he gained his object, it would have been fatal to political liberty. The one voice capable of rebuking the tyranny of the State would have been silenced. At one time it seemed likely that this would be the case. The time-servers in the Church were numerous. Even the Bishop of Rome

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wavered. "All the world groaned to find itself Arian." "C'était le cri d'effroi," says de Broglie, "de la liberté morale, qui, surprise et forcée dans ses derniers retranchements, s'enfuit au desert avec Athanase."[12] The short reign of Julian was sufficient to recall the faithful to the sense of duty, and although one or two succeeding emperors professed disdain for or hostility to the claims of the Church,[13] the contest could only end in one way. "The political sovereignty, the enemy of the Church for three centuries, became her ally with Constantine while wishing to remain her equal, pretended to rule her with Constantius, and yielded definitely to her the precedence with Theodosius, contenting itself with the second rank in the world."[14]

It was during the last twenty or thirty years of this contest that the work of S. Martin was accomplished. The ascendancy which the Church at this time was gaining over the secular power, and which S. Martin himself did much to secure, furnishes the chief cause (or one of the chief causes) of his influence. Had he lived fifty years earlier, he would in all probability have died in comparative obscurity. As it was, he came forward as the champion of popular freedom. By his sympathy with the people he had gained their confidence, and by their enthusiasm he found himself

[12] III., 9, 438.

[13] *Ibid.* III., 1. "La neutralité hautaine et défiante de Valentinien, la sotte hostilité de Valens conduisaient par des voies différentes, à la même démonstration. L'un voulait gouverner sans l'Église, l'autre contre elle."

[14] *Ibid.* III., 9, 448.

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in a more commanding position even than Theodosius. At last the hope of Gaul so long deferred seemed likely to be attained. What the State had failed to do the Church might succeed in accomplishing. What Julian had not been able to achieve might be undertaken with some prospect of success by the brave officer who, dissatisfied with wars that brought no alleviation of popular distress, had asked leave (later tradition said from Julian) to quit the army that he might be free to follow out the desire of his heart.

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CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF GAUL.

ABSENCE of political freedom was a great evil, and one which must always have been a source of discontent to the high-spirited Gauls. The hereditary hatred of Rome, the "proprium atque insitum in Romanos odium" of which Livy speaks, took long to die out. The impatience of restraint, so characteristic of the people, was only overcome by a very long period of oppression. Care was taken meanwhile to conceal under the guise of institutions apparently free the attempts made against the liberties of the people. But there was only a show of freedom; the government was in reality an odious and unmitigated despotism, one attended with the most disastrous social consequences. Each city had its municipal officers called Curiales. These were made responsible for the collection of the taxes, which were to be remitted to the Imperial Governors at Arles, Autun, Lyons, and Trèves. At first the office was sought after as an honourable position; those holding it constituted the provincial senators. But as time went on and the taxes were increased, difficulty was experienced in sending in the required amounts, and the desire became universal to avoid

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this burdensome honour. It was the middle classes upon whom the burden fell most heavily. All those who owned twenty-five acres of land were liable, and severe laws were passed to make evasion impossible. All means were resorted to in order to collect the money, but it was not forthcoming. There was a limit to the resources of the people. Yet the tax was not decreased but increased. Every conceivable method was adopted to obtain the uttermost farthing. Men were robbed even of the bare necessities of life. Gradually the middle classes dwindled away. They went to swell the ranks of the peasants. Many died of starvation or sold themselves into slavery. Nothing could exceed the abject poverty and distress of the people. We have it described for us in the words of an eyewitness. Lactantius writes: "So numerous were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation that the labourer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been. . . . It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town, Magistri, Rationales, Clerks of the Prefecture. Condemnations, proscriptions and exactions were all they knew; exactions not frequent, but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages. . . . . But the public distress, the universal mourning was when the scourge of the census came, and its takers, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general confusion which I can only liken to the misery of a hostile invasion, or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured to the very clods, the trees

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counted, each vine-plant numbered. Cattle were registered as well as men. The crack of the lash and the cry of torture filled the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire. For lack of evidence, torture was applied to extort one's own witness against oneself, and when nature gave way they wrote down what one had never uttered. Neither old age nor sickness was exempted. The sick and infirm were alike summoned. In taking ages they added to the years of the children and subtracted from those of the elderly. Grief and consternation filled the land. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they sent a succession of others, who each swelled the valuation as proof of service rendered, and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead."[1]

Nothing could exceed the grievousness of the land and poll taxes. The former rendered the cultivation of land profitless,[2] and a very large proportion in consequence remained untilled. The amount had to be made up from the land that was under cultivation. Attempts were made to increase this quantity by the invention of corvées, or the employment of forced labour in constructing roads or carrying produce, and also by giving land to veterans, who in return were

[1] "De Mortibus Persecutorum," VII., 23. Trans. by G. H. Smith.

[2] Sir J. Stephen says that it amounted even to one-third of the net value.—II., p. 60.

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required to raise their sons with a view to military service. The employment of prisoners, taken in war, as serfs, helped to keep up the number of cultivators. But all these provisions were insufficient to prevent the ruin of the country.

The poll tax was levied on every male except old men and infants, and the wife was assessed at half the amount. The proprietor was made responsible for his serfs, and the Curiales for all.[3]

In addition to these there were others, as *prestations*, for the entertainment of the governor of the province, and *requisitions* for provisions for the army; also taxes on the sale of slaves, inheritance, &c.[4]

These examples throw sufficient light upon the kind of taxation the Gauls, along with the other provinces of the Empire, had to submit to. From the economic point of view, they could hardly have been much worse.

Poverty, widespread and terrible in its intensity, was the inevitable result. Another dark feature of the social condition of the time, and due in part to the foregoing, was the enormous increase of slavery. Numbers of those who could not pay their taxes were compelled to become slaves. Even in more prosperous times the effect of Roman civilization had been to increase their number. Manual labour was discouraged and thought unworthy of freedom. It was left to the slaves, and these generally increased in numbers. Now that hard times had come the ranks of the slaves were still further enlarged.

[3] Rambaud, p. 49. [4] *Ibid.*

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The bad effect of this upon the country, morally as well as economically, was very apparent. Weakening of character, owing to loss of freedom; increase of superstition, due to the want of education; deadening of the affections, in consequence of the absence of family life; these were some of the evils which followed upon the rapid increase of slavery. It is very necessary to remember this in connection with the astonishing rate at which S. Martin is said to have made converts. The wide range of his influence, the evident success of the rough methods he adopted, will appear less wonderful when we consider that the type of persons with whom he had to deal were not the high spirited warriors of Cæsar's time, or the sturdy peasant proprietors of modern France, but races crushed by centuries of wrong, robbed first of all of political rights, then even of personal and moral ones. If we find any signs of strength or independence it is a testimony to the amazing persistency of human instincts even under the most depressing conditions, but that these should be present to the average extent cannot be expected. It was the weakness as well as the strength of human nature that accounts for the exaggerated estimate formed of S. Martin's power and the success of his work; for the fact too that a century later the darkness of heathenism seems almost as dense as before, and the social distress almost as keen. Great improvement there was during his life: even after his death his work bore good fruit; but it is only necessary to read the accounts of Salvian or even the Canons of the Church to know how easily we may exaggerate the permanent value of some part of his labours.

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Another phase of the same deplorable state of things was the want of security for life or property. Here, again, we see how S. Martin's work was aided. The Churches afforded an asylum for the fugitive; the bishops often disputed with the secular power on behalf of the people. The bishops became the favourite judges; ecclesiastical tribunals sprang up as rivals of the civil. Their decisions were made legal under Arcadius. All this added very greatly to the authority of the Church, and those who could not obtain redress of their grievances from the State naturally turned to the rival organization. Sometimes the two were in open conflict, the Church officers refusing to deliver up criminals who deserved the penalties of the secular power. Resistance was offered to these encroachments, but it was of no use. "Vains efforts!" says De Broglie in an eloquent passage, "Parmi ces malheureux qui viennent embrasser l'autel avec désespoir il y a une fugitive auguste qu'aucune force humain ne pourra de longtemps en arracher. C'est la justice elle-même, qui bannie de la terre par la corruption des cours ou par le bruit des armes, n'aura vraiment pendant des âges de barbarie d'autre interprète que l'Église et d'autre asile que la sanctuaire."[5]

Christianity as presented to the Gauls of the fourth century had a promise for the life that now is as well as for that which is to come. It was not simply that they were told of a heaven beyond the grave, where they would rest from their labours and

[5] De Broglie, III., 9, 462.

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know no longer the cruel privations which embittered their earthly existence (and we can imagine with what readiness such a gospel would gain the ears and hearts of the Gallic peasantry; how much better it must have seemed than the metempsychosis of their earlier teachers!), but it was also a present gospel, one which, though only a very partial redemption from the social evils which afflicted them, was nevertheless real, and, making smaller demands upon their faith, was an earnest of the inheritance to come. The kingdom of heaven had a very real meaning for the poor slave or debtor who, escaping to the nearest church, found there a safe shelter from his heartless pursuers; to the heavily-taxed proprietor or colonist, unable to bear the exactions of the Curia; or to the Curiales, in their turn unable to meet the demands of the Imperial prefects, when they found a Church strong enough to champion their cause, a clergy whose ranks they might join, or a monastic brotherhood which they might enter by giving up the little they possessed.

In the establishment of these monastic brotherhoods S. Martin was the prime mover. He is generally regarded as the introducer of monasticism into Gaul; he was certainly the first to popularize the new movement. Under his guidance it took the right direction, and attained to very great success. "Thanks to the life of this monk of the West, always associated with the people and with the poorest, there was formed as early as the last years of the fourth century between the rural class and the monastery a relation of cordial affection, deferential on the one

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side, paternal on the other, which the following age will see transformed into a regular patronage."[6]

True, it was no life of luxury and self-indulgence to which S. Martin called his followers. It did, however, afford protection and the possibility of social intercourse. If the life of the monastery was one of privation, it could even in this respect hardly exceed that which its members left behind them. And, what is more important, it supplied a motive power for the endurance of hardship. A life of privation voluntarily undergone with a view to blessedness in another world, sustained, too, by the sympathy of brotherhood here, was in itself more attractive than a life of enforced slavery with no hope for the present or future. The monastery, with its rigorous rules, with its isolation of husband and wife, of friend and friend, seems to us a very imperfect substitute for the home and the relations of family life. Yet though it meant both in principle and practice disparagement of the holiest human affections, even this was easier to husband and father than to see wife and children daily dying from starvation or sold into slavery before his own eyes.

[6] De Broglie, III., 9, 478.

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CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GAUL.

IT may be doubted whether any European country has been the birthplace or home of as many religious cults as the tract of land which now bears the name of France. The Gauls were unsurpassed for the readiness with which they welcomed any new religion which they chanced to hear of.[1] But unfortunately they have left few memorials of their own to satisfy the curiosity of the exact historian. For our knowledge of them we are dependent chiefly upon Greek and Roman writers, who were not always careful to enquire accurately into the religious beliefs of foreign or conquered peoples, but preferred a rough method of identification with their own peculiar deities. Some information, however, is afforded by certain votive tablets or other epigraphic monuments, and these, so far as they go, appear in the main to confirm the testimony of heathen and early Christian writers.[2]

In the fourth century A.D. there are traces of the existence of at least five religions in Gaul.

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[1] Bell. Gall., VI., 16.—"Natio est Gallorum omnium admodum dedita religionibus."

[2] Hibbert Lectures, I., and *ff.*

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I.—In the first place, there were survivals of the ancient Gallic religion. This was polytheistic and originally consisted in the worship of natural objects. The Celtic mind was much impressed with the grandeur and beauty of nature. The worship of streams and lakes and trees continued long after the introduction of Christianity. The Council of Auxerre, 586 A.D., states that the peasants continued to venerate bushes, trees and stones, fountains and lakes. In vain, says M. Rambaud, did the Councils fulminate against the idolatry. But the Church found a way of disguising, if not of overcoming, the difficulty. Statues of the Virgin Mary were placed in the hollows of the trees. Crosses were put upon rocks or heights consecrated to the gods. The sacred lakes and springs were blessed, and called after the names of the saints.[3] This policy has received the commendation of M. Beugnot. "Thus some prudent concessions made temporarily to pagan customs, and the influence exercised by the worship of the Virgin, such are the two powerful elements of which the Church availed herself in order to overcome the resistance of the last pagans—a resistance sufficiently slight in Italy, but which beyond the Alps was still inspired by fury."[4] Again he remarks: "The worship of Mary the Mother of God seems to have been the means by which Providence succeeded in completing Christianity."[5] We are not concerned, how-

[3] IV., p. 63.

[4] "Hist. de la Destr. du Paganisme," II., p. 271.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

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ever, to discuss the wisdom and morality of the method adopted; that it should have been resorted to is a striking illustration of the tenacious way in which the peasants of Gaul clung to their former gods.

But all the gods were not personifications of nature. The first place seemed originally to have been assigned to the war-god. "All the facts," says Professor Rhys, "bearing on the history of the Gaulish war-god conspire to prove that he was once the supreme divinity of the Celtic race; and though it is found convenient to term him briefly the Celtic Zeus or Jupiter, it would be more correct to speak of him in terms of Roman theology as a Mars-Jupiter."[6] As time went on, and civilisation advanced, the war-god was dethroned from his high position and compelled to take the third place in the heavenly hierarchy. Thus by the time of Julius Cæsar we find that Mercury had the honour of being chief among the gods. The short list which he gives comprises Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva.[7] He also says that the Gauls worshipped Pluto, and that in honour of him they counted their time by the nights instead of the days.[8]

The attempt to determine the characteristics which the Gauls recognised under these foreign names has given rise to different opinions. Professor Rhys gives

[6] Hibbert Lectures, I., 49.

[7] Bell. Gall., VI., 17.

[8] *Ibid.*, VI., 18. Pelloutier says that Cæsar was wrongly informed on this point, and that Dis was confused with Tis or Teut. "Hist. des Celtes," III., 6. Longueval remarks, "But the first man counted in this way, and Moses in speaking of the days of creation always puts the night first, evening and morning made the day." "Hist. de L'Église Gallicane," I., 27.

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evidence to show that Mercury was regarded as the god of agriculture, and under the name of Ogmius as the god of eloquence: that Apollo was the sun-god and dispeller of disease.[9] Mars was the war-god. Jupiter possibly connected with thunder and Minerva with the arts.

The pre-eminence given to Mercury is corroborated by references of subsequent writers, and the sacrifice of human victims is connected with his cult. The words of Cæsar, "Deum maxime colunt Mercurium... pro victimis homines immolant,"[10] are confirmed by Tertullian, who says, "Major ætas (*i.e.*, than was customary among the Carthaginians) apud Gallos Mercurio prosecabatur[11], and by Minucius Felix—"inde adeo per universa imperia, provincias, oppida, videmus singulos sacrorum ritus gentiles habere et deos colere municipes ut Eleusinios Cererem. . . . Gallos Mercurium, universa Romanos"[12]; also in another chapter he says, "Et Mercurio Gallos humanos vel inhumanos victimas cædere".[13] The testimony of Lactantius is to the same effect: "Galli Hesum atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant"[14]; Teutates representing Mercury[15] and Hesus Mars[16].

Under the name Ogmius he appeared in a much more genial light. In the second century of our era,

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[9] Lect. I., pp. 6, 20. [10] Bell. Gall., VI., 16. [11] Apol., 9.
[12] Dial. C. vi. [13] Dial. C. xxx. [14] De Falsa Rel., I., 21.
[15] Pelloutier refers to Livy, XXVI., 44. The correct reading, however, omits Teutatem.
[16] Lucan. Phar., I., 444—

"Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Hesus."

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Lucian was shown a picture, very curious, and one which he found hard to understand. The representation goes under the name of Hercules Ogmius, but it is evident that the hero Hercules is not intended. "The Celts," he says, "call Heracles, in the language of their country, Ogmius, and they make very strange representations of the god. With them he is an extremely old man with a bald forehead, and his few remaining hairs quite grey; his skin is wrinkled and embrowned by the sun to that degree of swarthiness which is characteristic of men who have grown old in a seafaring life: in fact, you would fancy him to be Charon or Japetus, one of the dwellers in Tartarus, or anybody rather than Heracles. But although he is of this description, he is nevertheless attired like Hercules, for he has on him the lion's skin, and he has a club in his right hand; he is duly equipped with a quiver, and his left hand displays a bow stretched out; in these respects he is quite Heracles. It struck me then that the Celts took such liberties with the appearance of Heracles, in order to consult the gods of the Greeks and avenge themselves on him in their painting, because he once made a raid on their territory, when in search of the oxen of Geryon he harassed most of the Western peoples. I have not yet, however, mentioned the most whimsical part of the picture, for this old man Heracles draws after him a great number of men bound by the ear, and the bonds are slender cords wrought of gold and amber, like necklaces of the most beautiful make; and although they are dragged on by such weak ties, they never try to run away though they could easily

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do it; nor do they at all resist or struggle against them, planting their feet in the ground and throwing their weight back in the direction contrary to that in which they are being led. Quite the reverse: they follow with joyful countenances in a merry mood, and praising him who leads them, pressing on, one and all, and slackening their chains in their eagerness to proceed—in fact, they look like men who would be grieved should they be set free. But that which seemed to me the most absurd thing of all I will not hesitate to tell you; the painter, you see, had nowhere to fix the ends of the cords, since the right hand of the god held the club and his left the bow; so he pierced the tip of his tongue, and represented the people as drawn on from it, and the god turns a smiling countenance towards those whom he is leading. Now, I stood a long time looking at these things, and wondered, perplexed and indignant. But a certain Celt standing by who knew something about our ways, as he showed by speaking good Greek—a man who was quite a philosopher, I take it, in local matters—said to me, 'Stranger, I will tell you the secret of the painting, for you seem very much troubled about it. We Celts do not consider the power of speech to be Hermes, as you Greeks do, but we represent it by means of Heracles, because he is stronger than Hermes. Nor should you wonder at his being represented as an old man, for the power of words is wont to show its perfection in the aged. . . So if this old man, Heracles the power of speech, draws men after him, tied to his tongue by their ears, you have no reason to wonder, as you must be aware of

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the close connection between the ears and the tongue. Nor is there any injury being done him by this latter being pierced; for I remember,' said he, 'learning, while among you, some comic iambics, to the effect that all chattering fellows have the tongue bored at the tip. In a word, we Celts are of opinion that Heracles himself performed everything by the power of words, as he was a wise fellow, and that most of his compulsion was effected by persuasion. His weapons, I take it, are his utterances, which are sharp and well-aimed, swift to pierce the mind; and you too say that words have wings.'"[17]

The criticism of this picture by Pelloutier is as follows:—It does not faithfully represent the religion of the Celts, because they did not like to represent their divinities in the form of men, and must, therefore, have been made after the time of Julius Cæsar, when the Gauls had adopted foreign superstitions and particularly the custom of having temples and idols: that it originated in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, who wished to represent the god of Gaul; and to express perfectly the idea they had of him, they had attributed to him the characteristics of three foreign divinities, the age of Saturn, the valour of Hercules, and the eloquence of Mercury. This god is manifestly the Tent.[18]

Professor Rhys's explanation agrees with this, so far as the combination of Heracles and Hermes is concerned. "The combining of the attributes of Hera-

[17] Hibbert Lectures I., 14-16. The original in Dindorf, pp. 598-600.
[18] "Hist. des Celtes," III., 14.

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cles and Hermes which puzzled the Greek traveller was no passing whim of the Gauls. The view taken of the god by the Celts was even more comprehensive, for we find him in Ireland wearing not only the character of the inventor of the Ogam Alphabet, but also that of the Champion of the Tuatha Dé Danann."[19]

This picture is enough to put us on our guard against accepting too readily all that the Romans or Greeks have to say about Gaulish divinities. But two things at least seem plain, viz.: that their chief god at the commencement of our era was called by their conquerors Mercury, and the fact that the Gauls assigned among other attributes that of eloquence to their Tent, would help the identification. The devotion of the Gauls to Mercury continued long after the time of Cæsar, or even of the Christian writers quoted above. The connection of Mercury with the story of the Thundering Legion belongs rather to German mythology than Gallic.[20] More important is the fact mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, that Julian, when in Gaul, secretly invoked Mercury.[21] At this time, Julian had not declared himself a heathen. There were many

[19] Lect. I. 20. Tuatha Dé Danann = tribes of the goddess Dann.

[20] The Germans worshipped Mercury also. While the Romans ascribed the rain to Jupiter, and the Christians to God, another report was started that a magician had come from Egypt, and by his secret arts had conjured Mercury. The Germans, to account for the defeat, said it was the work of one of their own magicians, who had turned their own Mercury against them. Pelloutier, III., 6.

[21] XVI., c. 5.

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Christians in the army, and he was not yet strong enough to disregard their feelings. Although he consulted with the magicians, he kept up the disguise for a while longer. As late as Epiphany, 361 A.D., he entered a Christian church to pray. The demand he made of the Gauls to follow him was in the name of the Heavenly God, an ambiguity which he thought advisable till the time had fully come to throw off the cloak and declare himself a pagan. Secrecy was necessary in his worship of the god, but the reason why he selected this particular one out of the vast array the Roman pantheon presented was its special connection with Gaul. Superstitious fear led him to desire to propitiate the god who was still regarded as the principal national deity.

These facts throw interesting light upon the statement of Sulpicius that it was Mercury that gave S. Martin the most trouble. He says that the Devil, seeking by a thousand devices to ensnare the saint, appeared to him in divers forms as Jupiter, or Venus, or Minerva, but especially Mercury.[22] He tells us also how the saint was accustomed to declare that he had been visited by S. Agnes and S. Thecla and the Holy Virgin, by S. Peter and S. Paul, and that, not once or twice, but frequently. But unfortunately for his peace of mind, other and less welcome visitants made their appearance. "Mercurium maxime patie-

[22] V. B. M. 22., 1. "Frequenter autem diabolus, dum mille nocendi artibus sanctum virum conabatur inludere, visibilem se ei formis diversissimis ingerebat. Nam interdum in Jovis personam, plerumque Mercuri, sæpe etiam se Veneris ac Minervæ transfiguratum vultibus offerebat."

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batur infestum, Jovem brutum adque hebetem esse dicebat.[23]" Again, after a very vivid description of the way in which S. Martin exorcised evil spirits, he says that the demons, when they came out of the possessed, confessed their names of their own accord; one said he was Jupiter, another Mercury.[24]

Perhaps we may delay one moment to enquire what was the meaning of these visions. The explanation which Mr. Baring Gould has given is a very curious one. "The pagans," he says, "had recourse to equally ineffectual means of frightening Martin. They disguised themselves as Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury, and some damsel, with more enthusiasm for her religion than delicacy, presented herself before the startled modesty of the bishop, without disguise of any sort, as Venus rising from the foam of the sea. Some dressed as wood Druses, very much like the devils of popular fancy, to terrify him. Mercury was a sharp, shrewd wag, and bothered the saint greatly, as he admitted to Sulpicius, but Jupiter was a stupid sot. Once a man, disguised in a black ox skin, rushed howling into the monastery of Martin with a bloody cow horn in his hand, and Martin was quite persuaded he had seen the Devil. We can understand how the mid-winter and spring festivities of the old Gauls, when the young people disguised themselves in all kinds of fantastic costumes, led Martin to believe that he was surrounded by devils and heathen deities. These practical jokes played on him by his unruly

[23] Dial. II., 13. [24] Dial. III., 6.

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flock so shook his nerves that he was constantly fancying he saw hobgoblins."[25]

This explanation seems both unnecessary and unlikely. The presence of spiritual beings would not have been made more vivid to the imagination of S. Martin by such devices. He felt that keenly enough. It seemed to him that he was engaged in a great spiritual contest with the gods of the land. The result of prolonged meditation and fasting was that these images assumed an objective reality, just as such ideas do in reverie, or still more completely in our dream life.

It does not appear likely that the people would have taken upon themselves to represent their deities in this fashion. Superstitious dread of provoking their anger by such impersonations would surely have prevented that. The people, too, were in no mood for practical jokes, and, as for Martin's nerves being shaken, everything goes to show that the fear and dread were on the side of the people, and not of the saint.

Another suggestion that may occur is that S. Martin himself was identified in the minds of some of the rural population with Mercury. If this were so we can understand his difficulty. There could have been no greater hindrance to his work. His protestations to the contrary would also account for the humility repeatedly ascribed to him. His eloquence would recall the most striking characteristic of their Teut. He was probably the first preacher

[25] "Lives of the Saints," Nov. 11.

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many of them had listened to, and as he spoke to them in the Celtic or Gallic tongue his words had great effect.[26] The people marvelled as they listened to his oratory. Could he be the god of their fathers come down from heaven in the likeness of men? The people of Lystra had made the same identification. They called Paul Mercurius because he was the chief speaker.[27] But we do not know. It is a bare conjecture; and not required by the facts before us, or to account for S. Martin's influence.

II.—But alongside of the old Gallic polytheism another peculiarly Celtic religion was found in Gaul. This was Druidism. Springing up at a later period, it modified the earlier beliefs, but did not supplant them. It never gained the ascendancy over the old religion, but nevertheless it infused new religious ideas among the people, and, what was perhaps as important, it had a civilizing influence. It was a curious mixture of true and false, of ennobling principles and barbarous practices, but had a distinct educational work to do. Their doctrines included the unity of God and the immortality of the soul. The latter, however, if we may trust the evidence of

[26] Sulp. Sev., Dial. I., 20. Celtice aut, si mavis, Gallice loquere, dummodo jam Martinum loqueris. "If we may trust this passage, there was an independent Gallic speech."—Kitchin, "Hist. of France," VI., p. 54.

[27] Acts of the Apostles, XIV., 11 and 12. If these people had belonged to the Galatian province the conjecture would have been more interesting. Bishop Lightfoot, however, took the opposite view. (Ep. to the Galatians, p. 18.) We may refer, nevertheless, to another passage, Gal. IV., 14. "But (ye) received me as an angel of God, even as Jesus Christ," as illustrating the enthusiasm of the Gauls.

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Cæsar, was marred by a belief in metempsychosis. "The Druids," he says, "seek above all to persuade people that souls do not die, but after death pass into another body."[28] Diodorus Siculus also says, "The Gauls follow in this respect the teaching of Pythagoras. They believe that the soul of man is immortal, that it returns to life and enters into another body after a certain number of years."[29] The belief in the immortality of the soul gained a very firm hold upon the minds of the people, and showed itself in some of their customs. Cæsar was struck with their magnificent funerals, and with the lavish way in which they threw into the fire all that had caused pleasure to the dead; not only material possessions, but also animals, and even slaves and clients had been burned along with the body of their master, that he might not be deprived of their society.[30] It is probable, too, that the Gallic women made it a point of honour not to survive their husbands.[31] Letters were written to the departed and thrown into the fire in the belief that the dead could read them.[32] Money was also lent in order that it might be returned in another life.[33] Even the victims of the Druids sometimes offered

[28] Bell. Gall., VI., 14.

[29] *ἐνισχύει γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἑτῶν ὡρισμένων πάλιν βιοῦν, εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης.*—V., c. 28.

[30] Bell. Gall., VI., 19. [31] Pomp. Mela., III., 2.

[32] *Διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνίους ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν, ὡς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναγνωσμένων ταύτας.*—Diodorus Siculus, V., 28.

[33] Valer. Max., II., cl.xxxvi.

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themselves voluntarily. Perhaps we may compare also the funeral procession mentioned by Sulpicius. This was probably of an imposing character, as it was mistaken by S. Martin for a profane ceremony, "it being the habit of the Gaulish peasants in their pitiable folly to parade about the country the images of demons covered with white veils."[34]

But it was not only as the preachers of this doctrine that the Druids made themselves a power in Gaul. They were a sacerdotal order possessed of great privileges. They did not pay taxes, and were exempt from military service. They were not only priests and magicians, but also doctors, judges, and instructors of the young. Both civil and criminal cases were tried by them. They were chosen from the nobility, and their influence was often necessary to restrain the violence of the powerful in those turbulent times; without them there would have been no justice in Gaul. Their training and habits were calculated to strengthen their authority over the people. It was necessary for the priests to have spent fifteen or twenty years in their colleges. These were often in the solitudes of the forests and rocks, or isles of the ocean, and this fact added to their prestige among the people. The arch Druid was the primate of Gaul, and his election often gave rise to civil wars.[35]

Various estimates have been formed of the value of the work Druidism accomplished. Sismondi admits

[34] V. B. M. c. 12.

[35] For this general description, see Rambaud, I., 2.

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that it had a strong restraining influence over the passions of the nobles. "The power of the priests balanced that of the magistrates, and enforced the laws by religious terrors. It hastened the development and associated the entire body of the people together much better than could have been done by institutions wholly political. But it arrested further progress. . . . A mixture of liberty and slavery, of civilisation and grossest superstition, was the result of the Druidical power." [36] Michelet looks upon it as commencing the moral culture of Gaul, facilitating the Roman Conquest, and clearing the way for Christianity. He is not inclined, however, to overestimate its importance. Even if it had not been weakened by divisions, the solitary life to which most members of the order seem to have been vowed, must have rendered it incapable of any vigorous action on the people.[37] As they did not live among them, they did not succeed in destroying their love for the old gods of the land. The strength of Druidism was seen rather in the stimulus which it gave to national aspiration than in its success in establishing monotheistic worship. It was to Gaul something like what Judaism was to Israel in the time of the Judges. It kept alive the spirit of resistance to foreign encroachment, but did not extinguish idolatry and superstition. It was for this reason that it incurred the hatred of Rome.

Had Rome succeeded in stamping it out before the time of S. Martin? Some have thought that as far

[36] Hist. France I., 1. [37] Hist. France I., 2.

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back as the time of Cæsar Druidism was very much weakened. "I am far from admitting this opinion," says Beugnot. "If this cult had really lost its ancient power, should we have seen it during the fourth and fifth centuries opposing successfully the progress of Christianity, and would the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius have had so much difficulty in making the Druids give up their human sacrifices? . . . I think that Druidism in renouncing willingly or by force its barbarous customs became better fitted to exercise a solid and durable empire over the minds of the ancient Gallic populations."[38] There can be no doubt that Druidism did exist during the Roman occupation of the country for centuries. It would have been a fruitless task, as well as contrary to her usual policy, had Rome attempted to destroy the religious beliefs of the Gauls. The strongest passage in support of the contrary view is that of Pliny, in which he says that the Emperor Tiberius exterminated the Druids and all kinds of diviners and doctors. But he speaks elsewhere of the Druids as existing, and carrying on their work in Gaul.[39] It is probable then that Druidism died a natural death. Its fall was not due to the Roman sword, but to its own

[38] "Hist. de Destr. du Paganisme," VI., 2.

[39] XXX. 1. See Pelloutier. "Hist. et Critique sur l'abolition des Druides," where the subject is fully handled with reference to the testimony of Latin writers. His conclusion is that the Romans never thought of taking away from the Gauls either their religion or their Druids, for they appear as late as Diocletian and Constantine the Great; but that sacrifices of men and divinations were forbidden as dangerous to the State.

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incapacity to meet the wants of the people. Compelled to lose some of its distinctive features it still lived on, but did not assert itself in the same manner, and finally gave way before Christianity. It certainly did not show much vitality in the fourth century. S. Martin's diocese was in the very heart of the Celtic province where Druidism had established itself. Beugnot thought that he chose the neighbourhood of Poitiers because there the Druids had preserved most influence.[40] Yet there are very few, if any, clear indications that S. Martin came into contact with them. It is very likely that Druidism degenerated in process of time, and became largely fused with the old Gallic polytheism. The influence of their teaching may have remained in some parts of the province; the effect of their priestcraft may be seen in the readiness with which the docile populations received any fresh claimant for their allegiance. When S. Martin appeared, he came not simply with the prestige which a life of retirement had given to the Druidical clergy (did he take the idea from them?)[41] but as a representative of the strongest organization in the Empire. There was thus more than one cause for the awe which he inspired. The reign of the Druids contributed to the same end as the grinding tyranny of the State. The feeble resistance which was offered to the propagandism of S. Martin was due as much to fear as to any other cause.

[40] "Hist. de Destr. du Paganisme," VI., 2.

[41] He thought the life of the monastery the best training for the clergy, as we shall find later on.

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III.—There will be no need to say much in this connection regarding the next two factors in the religious life of Gaul. The German element was represented at this time in some parts of the country. It seems to have been similar to the old Gallic. Like the ancient Gauls they were polytheists, honouring Mercury and others of the gods. Like them, they originally had no temples, but worshipped in the open air under trees. Tacitus says that the Germans thought it derogatory to the greatness of the heavenly gods to shut them up within walls, or to represent them under any human form. They consecrated trees and forests for their worship.[42] No doubt there were a considerable number of Germans in Gaul at this time. Some were serving in the imperial army, some taken prisoners in war, had been allowed to settle down in the country on condition that they cultivated the deserted tracts of land; while whole tribes were continually pressing upon the Rhine frontier, and in spite of the Roman armies were forcing themselves beyond it. But this affected north-eastern Gaul, and had not very much to do with S. Martin's missionary work.

IV.—Last of all these heathen religions is that of Rome. A strange medley it had become. Gods from all parts of the world formed a place alongside of the ancient deities of Rome. In the south of Gaul the influence of Roman worship, whatever it might happen to be, whether of the earlier gods, or Mithras, or the Emperor, was chiefly felt. But here Chris-

[42] Germ., 9.

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tianity had made such progress that St. Jerome could say "Gallia monstra non habuit." When there was a pagan Emperor the officials, and many of those who inhabited the large towns throughout Gaul, would profess the religion of Rome, but the mass of the people knew little and cared less about the gods of their conquerors. They were allowed to worship their own deities if they called them by Roman names, and what was in a name? Indeed the old names were allowed to remain side by side with the new. Thus, in the temple, which some mariners erected on the isle of Lutèce in the Seine, in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the Celtic Hésus, Siviéros and Cernuneros, were placed side by side with Vulcan, Jupiter, Castor, and Pollux.[43]

But heathenism, as represented by Rome, was almost dead. The only gods to which the people were attached were the ancient Gallic ones, and this attachment was largely one of custom and tradition. The violence of Christian prelates was not met by any serious rising of the people on behalf of their gods. Heathenism produced no martyrs.[44] It fell almost without resistance. Heathen temples were converted with great rapidity into Christian churches. The ease with which the old Gallic religion became Romanized in form is more than paralleled by the rapid transition of a large part of Gaul in the fourth century from a nominally heathen to a nominally Christian country.

[43] Guizot, V. De Broglie, II., 5. Rambaud, p. 41.

[44] This is admitted by writers like Sismondi, as well as ecclesiastical historians.

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V.—Finally, Christianity had already found a place in Gaul. Into the disputed question as to the precise time of its arrival it is not needful to enter. There is no certain evidence that any of the apostles visited the country. Tradition has indeed mentioned S. Philip, S. Luke, S. Paul, Crescens Trophimus, and others as the first evangelizers of Gaul, but there is no adequate proof for any of them. Sulpicius Severus knew nothing of this in the fourth century. He says in his history that the religion of God had been very slow in crossing the Alps, and that the first martyrs are met with during the fifth persecution of the churches in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[45] He also states that God gave Martin to France, in order that it might not be inferior to the countries where S. Pau and the other apostles preached.[46]

The letter which the churches of Vienne and Lyons wrote to their brethren in Asia Minor, shows that in 177 A.D. there was a heroic band of Christians settled at those places,[47] and points to the fact, otherwise probable, that it was not from Rome, but from Asia Minor, that the gospel first reached them. Pothinus, the first Bishop of Lyons, may, as a child, have listened to the Apostle John. Irenæus, the next distinguished Bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Polycarp. No bishop is mentioned in connection with the church at Vienne, and we know of no other bishops in Gaul at this time. Then follows another period of silence. "Whether the persecution of Severus had carried off a great number of Christians, as it is

[45] Chron. II., 46. [46] Dial. III., 21. [47] Eus. Hist., V., 23, 24.

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thought, or whether after the death of Irenæus there were found few persons in Gaul capable of maintaining and extending the faith, there were towards the middle of the third century only a few churches and a very small number of Christians."[48] At that time, according to Gregory of Tours, seven bishops were ordained and sent into Gaul to preach there the faith. The authority he quotes is the History of the Martyrdom of S. Saturninus. "For one reads there under the consulate of Decius and Gratus, as one knows by the faithful tradition, the town of Toulouse had S. Saturninus for its first bishop. Here then are the bishops who were employed: Gatian at Tours, Trophimus at Arles, Paul at Narbonne, Saturninus at Toulouse, Denis at Paris, Austremoine at Auvergne, and Martial at Limoges."[49]

There is no hint given that these seven men were sent out from Rome, nor must the title of bishop which is given to them be pressed to indicate that there were churches already in existence waiting for them. The title is given rather in anticipation.

Among the other missionaries the best known are S. Quentin, S. Crépin, and S. Crépinian—the two latter becoming, it is said, shoemakers, that they might spread the Gospel more readily among the artisans.

Christianity from this time made considerable

[48] Tillemont. Ecc. Mem., IV., 442. This is also confirmed by the letter of S. Germain of Paris and seven other principal Bishops of France to S. Radegonde towards the middle of the sixth century. See Greg. of Tours, IX., 39. Tillemont, IX., p. 442.

[49] Hist. I., 23-30.

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progress[50] under the mild rule of Constantius Chlorus. Christians were not prevented from worshipping, and the Diocletian persecution which raged so fiercely elsewhere left Gaul practically untouched. It is likely that Christians from other parts of the empire may have fled thither for refuge from the storm. At any rate Christianity was a very strong force in Gaul at this time, and Constantine was not slow to take advantage it, as we have already seen.

When Christianity became the religion of the State its diffusion was still more rapid, so that in the fourth century the Christian element in Gaul was very considerable. But it was confined chiefly to the towns. The country districts were still left in the darkness of heathenism, until "our light commenced to appear, and Gaul was enlightened by the rays of a new torch: that is to say, at this time S. Martin applied himself to preach to the Gauls, making the people know by a great number of miracles Christ the true Son of God, and dissipating the unbelief of the Gentiles."[51]

At this point in the development of Christianity S. Martin then began his work. He plunged into the heart of Gaul, where superstition and ignorance were

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[50] Paganism seems, however, to have been in the ascendancy in the diocese of Tours, as the succession of bishops was interrupted. "If anyone should ask why, after the death of Bishop Gatian, there was only a single Bishop Litorus up to S. Martin, he will know that because of the oppositions of the Pagans the town of Tours was for a long time deprived of the sacerdotal benediction." Gregory of Tours also says that Litorus built the church. Before, they worshipped in secret places. X. 30.

[51] Greg. of Tours, Hist., I., 36.

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densest. Unlike the first propagators of the faith, he extended his labours far beyond the bounds of the large towns: he sought to win the villagers and rural populations for Christ. As he deviated from the apostolic plan of evangelisation, so we shall see he devised new methods for its accomplishment.

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PART III.

THE WORK ACCOMPLISHED.

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PART III.

CHAPTER I.

S. MARTIN AS A POLITICAL FORCE.

WHEN S. Martin became bishop he was not slow to take advantage of his influential position to withstand the tyranny and cruelty of the ruling powers. It is, I think, unwarrantable to assume that his motive in so doing was either personal arrogance or priestly assumption. It was rather sympathy with the distressed, and a genuine desire to improve their condition, that led him to brave the wrath of princes and governors. No doubt S. Martin felt honoured by the enthusiastic reception accorded him on entering Tours; no doubt he was interested in the aggrandisement of the Church to which he belonged, but these facts did not in themselves furnish the sole motives for his conduct, nor did the alloy of selfish feeling, if such there was, interfere with the success of the work he undertook. Considering the character of that work, we prefer to find the motive for it in his love for others, in what even Michelet has described as that "heroical charity which is the sign by which we moderns know him as a saint."

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Three important instances in which S. Martin came into contact with the civil power are given by Sulpicius. One of these was the interview with the Imperial Governor, Avitian, the others with the Emperors Valentinian and Maximus. The relation of S. Martin with Maximus is the most needful to consider at length, but the other two cases must first be mentioned.

Count Avitian, a powerful but cruel man, came one day into Tours, followed by a number of prisoners of all sorts, and gave out the report that these were to be executed on the morrow. The city was filled with consternation at the thought of this wholesale butchery, and the bishop was soon informed of what was going to take place. S. Martin accordingly betook himself at dead of night to the residence of Avitian. When he arrived the door was shut, and, every one being asleep, he knocked for some time in vain. Then he had recourse to prayer, and as he prayed an angel appeared to Avitian, and told him that the servant of God was at his gate. The Count gave orders that he should be allowed to enter. The servants tried to persuade him that there was no one there, that he must have been dreaming. The angel, however, appeared a second time. Avitian, therefore, jumped up, and ran himself to the door, where he discovered the saint still in prayer. He recognised immediately the purpose for which he had come, and granted his request.[1]

S. Martin continued to exert a restraining influence

[1] Dial. III., 4.

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over this man, for it is stated that however cruel he was elsewhere, whenever he came to Tours he was meek as a lamb. A radical change was finally effected. For some time afterwards, when S. Martin paid another visit to him, he saw a Demon of unusual size standing near the Count. Recognising his opportunity, he breathed upon him in the hope of chasing away the Demon. Avitian, enquiring what this strange treatment meant, was assured that it was due to no want of proper respect, but because S. Martin had discovered a Demon seated upon his shoulders. After this insufflation the evil spirit took to flight and never returned.[2] The wife of Avitian gave proof of her piety in sending some oil to be blessed by the saint. During the process the presbyter Arpagius saw it sensibly increase, and when it was sent back, although frequently used for healing the sick, it never decreased in quantity. One day a clumsy domestic let the vase fall from a great height on to a marble pavement, but neither was the vase broken nor the oil spilt.[3]

This contest then ended in a complete victory for S. Martin; whether it was due entirely to prayer and superior strength of character may, however, be doubted. This is, of course, possible; but we cannot forget the office of "Defensor" was in existence, and that it is very likely it was filled by S. Martin for the district of Tours. If this were so, Avitian would not have dared to refuse audience to S. Martin, but would have desired to maintain friendly relations with him.

The next incident brings S. Martin into direct

[2] Dial. III. 8. [3] Dial. III., 3.

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relation with the Emperor. About the year 373 A.D. he journeyed to Trèves, the residence of Valentinian I., in order to obtain an interview with him. What was the object of the visit we are left to conjecture. It may have been concerning the redemption of captives or liberation of slaves. It may have been about the heathen temples, as Alban Butler suggests. It is quite possible that S. Martin did not approve of the strict toleration of Valentinian, and went to remonstrate with him. But, whatever the reason was, he found his way to the palace and desired to gain admittance. This was denied him. But why? Valentinian was a Christian and, by incurring the displeasure of Julian, had gained for himself the title of Confessor. We should have expected him to receive S. Martin with open arms. Sulpicius and later writers lay the blame upon his wife, the Empress Justina, widow of Magnentius and a bitter Arian. The conduct of Valentinian, however, on this occasion, was only part of his customary policy. He wished to have nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters. He tolerated Heathens and Christians, Orthodox and Arians, and desired to hold himself aloof from their contentions and controversies. It was very likely, even from his own point of view, a mistaken policy. When the Church was gaining power over the State so rapidly it was foolish to suppose that inaction was the wisest course. It proved, at length, to be an impossible policy. This visit of S. Martin was sufficient to demonstrate the truth of this assertion.

To resume the story then, S. Martin, finding that he could not gain the ear of the Emperor, spent

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seven days and seven nights in prayer. At the end of that time an angel appeared to him, and commanded him to return to the palace. Full of faith, he arose and went. On his arrival the doors opened of their own accord, and, no one hindering him, he passed right into the chamber of the Emperor. The latter was astonished to see him after the express orders he had given to the contrary. He was enraged, but suddenly there descended from heaven a fire which enveloped his throne, and constrained him to receive the saint with honour. He fell upon his neck and kissed him, promising to do as he desired. He also begged him to accept of many presents, which, however, the holy man refused.[4]

This second encounter resulted then in another striking victory for the saint. It was henceforth perfectly clear that any one wishing to be popular in Gaul could not afford to despise the Bishop of Tours.

Accordingly when S. Martin again visits Trèves to ask for some favour, he finds no gates barred against him. This time it is the Emperor Maximus he desires to see. He is received with the utmost honour; it is plainly the Emperor who seeks the favour of the Bishop. The circumstances in which Maximus was placed lend additional significance to the singular scenes now to be described.

When commanding the troops of Gratian in Britain he had been proclaimed Emperor by the army, and crossing rapidly over to France, found Gratian quite unprepared to resist him. Gratian fled, was over-

[4] Dial. II., 5.

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taken, and assassinated. We can see clearly enough that the position of Maximus was very far from being a secure one. He was naturally anxious therefore to strengthen it by all possible means. Nothing was more desirable than to obtain the support of S. Martin.[5] The policy was wise and succeeded admirably. At first indeed S. Martin refused to sit down to eat with the usurper, whose hands were stained with the blood of a lawful prince, and although other bishops accepted his invitations, S. Martin remained obstinate for a time. He told Maximus frankly the reason, and the Emperor, instead of being angry, put forth every effort to win over this popular bishop by flattery and specious reasoning. He represented to him that it was not at his own wish that he had been elected Emperor; it was his soldiers that forced him to accept the honour. Then followed the favourite argument of all usurpers, viz., that the justification of their action is found in their success; the soldiers must have been acting under the direction of Heaven, since beyond all hope the victory had been given to him. Finally, his hands were not stained with blood, inasmuch as those who had been killed had only suffered the fortunes of war, and had not been put to death by his express command.[6] These reasonings and the repeated entreaties of Maximus proved too much for S. Martin,

[5] This explanation of the flattering attention of Maximus is a very obvious one. Yet I do not remember having seen it noted by any one except Lavallée, who says in "Histoire des Français," I. 73, "Ce Maxime appuya son usurpation sur l'autorité de Martin de Tours."

[6] V. B. M. 20.

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already longing to obtain some favours for his poor, and to advance the position of the Church. He consented to dine with him. Great was the joy of the Emperor. He ordered a magnificent banquet to be prepared, and invited a most illustrious company to meet the aged bishop. It was customary during the feast for the cup to be handed to the most illustrious guest, who in his turn was expected to hand it on to the one whom he thought most worthy. The cup having been given to the Emperor, he ordered it to be passed to S. Martin, thus signifying the great respect which he had for the saint, and hoping no doubt that he would in return have the honour of being selected by S. Martin as the next recipient. But this was not to be. S. Martin did not forget that the Church was dearer and more honourable in his eyes than the State, and so, to the surprise of all, he handed the cup to a priest who had accompanied him to the feast. Far from blaming S. Martin, the company were struck with admiration of his conduct, and did not resent the slight done to royalty.[7]

Maximus kept up this artful policy. He invited S. Martin to the palace frequently, and made a confidant of him. The subjects of conversation on these occasions were varied: at one time it was about Eternity and the blessedness of the faithful;[8] at another it was concerning a projected war with the young Valentinian.[9] From the latter the saint tried to dissuade him, saying that although he would be successful at first, he would perish in the attempt,

[7] V. B. M. 20. [8] Dial. II., 6. [9] V. B. M. 20.

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which prophecy was fulfilled in the year 388 A.D., when he was defeated by the army of Theodosius and executed.

The Empress also did her utmost to further the designs of Maximus. She was often found at the feet of the saint, listening attentively to his words, or beseeching him with tears to pardon the Emperor for the crimes he had committed in usurping the Empire. On one occasion she prevailed upon the aged monk to eat in her presence. She prepared the viands with her own hands, placed them upon the table herself, and served S. Martin, not suffering any of the servants to go near him. Not until all his wants had been supplied did she take any food, and then she contented herself with the broken fragments which the saint had left, taking care that not even the crumbs should be wasted. In short, according to Sulpicius, she acted the part both of Martha and Mary, and no one in antiquity could be compared to her except the Queen of Sheba, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon.[10]

But other bishops also found their way to the court. These had not been troubled with any conscientious scruples, and readily received the hospitality of Maximus. Some of them began to be jealous of the special attention paid to S. Martin,

[10] Dial. II., 6 and 7. He is also anxious to prevent any unworthy motive from being imputed to the Empress, and to excuse the conduct of the monk, whose principles were violated even by conversation with her, and so states particularly that S. Martin at the time was a septuagenarian.

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and their disagreement made the position of the Emperor very difficult. It will now be necessary to notice the rise and progress of the celebrated controversy respecting the Priscillianists, and the important principles involved in it.

The Priscillianists are one of the heretical sects which have not yet had full justice done to them. The accounts which have been given both of their teaching and conduct are based confessedly upon the testimony of their enemies. They had the misfortune to incur the enmity of powerful and unscrupulous bishops, who, to gain their own ends, did not shrink from calumny and misrepresentation, and even applied torture in order to obtain information regarding practices said to be in vogue among the adherents of the party.

Priscillianism has generally been described as a mixture of Gnostic and Manichæan tenets; a union of wild and extravagant beliefs with the most immoral practices. The virulence of the attacks made upon them, and the vagueness of the accounts given by Orosius and Leo the Great, make us suspect that no serious attempt was made to understand the reputed errors of the Priscillianists. Fortunately, we are not now entirely dependent upon the adverse statements of their enemies, for in the autumn of the year 1885, a Codex was discovered belonging to the fifth or sixth century, and containing eleven short treatises, together with ninety Canons supported by scripture proofs, by Priscillian himself. These were published in 1889, by George Schepss, and are now before the world in printed form. They certainly do

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not confirm all the charges made against his teaching. In the first of them, the Liber Apologeticus, he complains of the misrepresentations which have been made of his beliefs, and considering the number of heresies which he finds it necessary to disavow, it would seem that he had just cause for complaint. He condemns the doctrines of the Nicolaitans,[11] of the Docetæ[12] and Patripassians,[13] of the Novatians,[14] of the Arians,[15] of the Gnostic sects as Basilides[16] and the Ophites,[17] of the idolators and sensual,[18] but especially of the Manichæans.[19]

It will not be possible to enter fully into a discussion of the speculations and teaching of Priscillian. Nor is it necessary to do so in order to understand the attitude of S. Martin; and it is that with which alone we are concerned here. We shall content ourselves with referring to a few of the statements which Priscillian makes in his own defence.

He insists very emphatically and with constant iteration upon the Unity of God.[20] His statement of the doctrine of the Trinity (the word does not occur in his writings) would not, however, satisfy the requirements of the Catholic creed. In speaking of the baptismal formula, he says that the command is to "baptize in the *name* of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit;" he does not say in the *names*, as though in many, but in one, quia unus deus trina potestate venerabilis omnia et in omnibus Christus

[11] p. 23. [12] p. 22. [13] pp. 6, 38, &c. [14] pp. 7, 23, 39.
[15] pp. 23, 38. [16] p. 23. [17] pp. 23, 38. [18] p. 8, &c.
[19] pp. 22, 40, &c. [20] *e.g.*, pp. 5, 7, 34, 35, 36, 37, 49, 66.

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est, as it is written, the promises were made to Abraham and his seed; he does not say and 'seeds,' as though in many, but as it were in one, 'and in thy seed,' which is Christ . . . . He is our God. . . . ."[21] What is perhaps most striking is the repeated assertion that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh.[22] The human nature of our Lord is admitted; He was "man of men;"[23] the body which He possessed was a real one.[24] But more emphasis is laid upon His divinity; He is filius dei,[25] and still oftener deus.[26] On the whole, this theology has stronger affinity with that developed afterwards by Swedenborg than with that of the Gnostics or Manichæans. The letter to Bishop Damasus, from which some of the above references have been taken, contains also a creed which differs in some respects from all other extant creeds, being partly Eastern, partly Western in character. Like the longer creed of Facundus Hermianensis, mentioned by Dr. Lumby[27] as belonging to the African churches, it inserts the word "unum" in the two first clauses. This was quite usual in the East, and was noticed by Rufinus; but is not found in other Western creeds, the reason being that the East was troubled with heresies which required the insertion.[28] Its use by Priscillian is an indication that he was neither a Gnostic nor a Manichæan, as both involve a duality; Manichæism

[21] p. 37. [22] *e.g.*, pp. 7, 21, 31. [23] p. 24. [24] p. 22,&c.
[25] pp. 16, 41, &c. [26] *e.g.*, pp. 8, 9, 16, 23, 24, 27, 33, 35, 41.
[27] "Hist. of the Creeds," p. 168.
[28] *cf.* Rufinus, in Symb. Apost. 3, and Dr. Lumby "Hist. of the Creeds," pp. 28, 29.

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acknowledging two Gods, and Gnosticism, in addition, two Christs, an upper and a lower. Other differences will be seen at once by referring to the creed.[29]

It was not however by their doctrines that they gave offence so much as by their reputed errors of conduct. The canons of the Council of Saragossa point to two of their irregularities—(*a*) the separation of the sexes during worship and instruction was not maintained; (*b*) running bare-footed about[30] the mountains, and hiding in caverns during the festival of Christmas. According to his own confession, as given by Sulpicius (1) Priscillian had studied obscene doctrines; (2) there had been immoral conduct in their mixed assemblies.[31]

It is impossible to consider these charges as substantiated, unless we are willing to take the accounts given by his enemies as true. It will be noticed how easily the two latter (the really serious ones) may have arisen. It is quite as likely that they are the result of the interpretations put upon his words as his own genuine confession. It is easy, *e.g.*, to see how the following sentences could be twisted by the perverse imaginations of his enemies:—Illis enim, sicut ab infelicibus dicitur, masculofemina putetur deus: nobis autem et in mascula dei spiritus est, sicut

[29] (Credentes) unum deum patrem omnipotentem, et unum dominum Iesum Christum, natum ex Maria virgine ex spiritu sancto, passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, sepultum, tertia die resurrexisse, ascendisse in cælos, sedere ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde venturum et judicaturum de vivis et mortuis, credentes in sanctam ecclesiam, sanctum spiritum, baptismum salutare, credentes remissionem peccatorem, credentes in resurrectionem carnis, p. 37.

[30] Matter. Hist. I., 370. [31] Chron. II., 50.

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scriptum est: fecit deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, masculum et feminam.....quia non est masculus neque femina, sed omnes unum sumus in Christo Iesu[32].

One thing is certain, that the Priscillianists were rigid ascetics. Their pale faces were supposed to be a sufficient mark to distinguish the sect[33]. But it is not clear that this arose from contempt of the body on the Manichæan principle of the evil of matter. It was due rather to their belief that since Christ had come in the flesh the body was holy, and must therefore be kept from all unnecessary indulgence and excess. In their anxiety to do this they were not careful to distinguish the natural from the unnatural uses of the body. Asceticism seemed the only safe way of avoiding the desecration of the body.[34]

So, too, in reference to the relation of the sexes, they followed what seemed to them the teaching of the New Testament. Jesus Christ had not only come in the flesh, and thus for ever dignified the body, but it was also declared that in him all were equal; there were no distinctions of sex. Why, then, in public meetings for prayer or instruction should men and women be separated? Why should men re-establish barriers which had been done away in Christ?

[32] p. 28. [33] Sulp. Sev., Dial II., 11.

[34] Compare the remarks of Gibbon: "If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear and pain and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, impiety, and lewdness. But an accurate or rather candid enquiry will discover that if the Priscillanists violated the laws of nature it was not by the licentiousness but by the austerity of their lives."—Hist. III., 375 (Ed. Milman).

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It was a protest against that isolation of the sexes which the spirit of monasticism was doing so much to encourage, a protest which took the form not of unlimited licentiousness, but of open recognition of the equality of men and women in the sight of God. In their anxiety to guard themselves from the abuse of this doctrine, which their enemies were only too ready to impute to them, they fell into the other error of a too great severity, and avoided that divinely appointed institution which was capable of saving them from both errors. It may be that sometimes the principle was violated (what movement has not suffered from the unworthy conduct of some of its adherents?), but it was suggested by a noble and not by an ignoble motive. Some confirmation of the view here suggested is found in the fact that this movement found special favour with the women of Spain. A woman of noble birth named Agape had been one of the teachers of Priscillian:[35] when the latter added the weight of his learning and the readiness of his wit (these qualities were acknowledged even by his enemies) to the new views, the women flocked to him in troops.[36] Love of novelty is the motive Sulpicius imputes: it is at least quite as likely that the reason is to be found in the fact that the movement was an assertion of their rights, and a protest against the false sentiment then becoming common.

If this be the correct way of regarding the aim of the Priscillianists it will be seen that S. Martin could

[35] Sulp. Sev. Chron. II. 46.

[36] *Ibid.* "Catervatim ad eum confluebant."

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only have partial sympathy with it. Their ascetic habits would commend the sect to his regard. His own practice in this respect lent some countenance to the false assertion of his enemies that he was himself a Priscillianist. But their mixed assemblies were an abomination to him. The stand which is made in their favour was, however, due to other causes. He considered that their irregularities deserved censure and even punishment, but their condemnation, when effected, involved the violation of two principles very dear to him, the one being the supremacy of the Church, the other the sacredness of human life. To see how this came about it will be necessary to proceed with the narrative.

Many other bishops having given in their adherence to the party, among them being Instantius and Salvianus, the bishop of Cordova thought that something must be done to stay the progress of the heresy. He accordingly denounced them to Idatius, bishop of Merida. A Synod summoned at Saragossa, in 380 A.D., passed sentence of condemnation upon the bishops Instantius and Salvian, and the laymen Helpidus and Priscillian.[37] Ithacius, of Sossuba, was charged

[37] It is not certain that Martin was present. Sulpicius does not mention the fact, nor do the acts of the Council. Moreover, it is not likely he would have journeyed so far. The only authority for the presence of Martin seems to be a Spanish writer named Dexter, quoted by Gervaise, p. 171. See also L. de la Marche, p. 251. Among the other Canons of the Council, besides those mentioned above, are the following: excommunication of all those who received the Priscillianists into their communion; monks forbidden to take the habit for mere ostentation; unqualified persons not to preach; determination of the age at which virgins were to be consecrated.

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with the execution of the decrees. There can, I think, be no doubt that the censor was, in this case, far worse than the accused. He cared nothing for spiritual things, was voluptuous and cruel.[38] Besides being envious of the popularity of Priscillian, the austerity of the latter was a continual rebuke of his own indulgence, and all that an unscrupulous and jealous man could do was sure to be attempted.

The party was not easily daunted. The condemned bishops, Instantius and Salvian, proceeded to consecrate Priscillian to the bishopric of Avila. The orthodox party was not strong enough to enforce the decrees of the Council. Ithacius and his colleague Idatius accordingly determine to appeal to the secular power. It is important to notice that this first appeal for the intervention of the State came from the orthodox or prosecuting side. It was successful. The Emperor Gratian banished the offending bishops. They forthwith left Spain, and proceeded to Rome to plead their cause before Damasus. On their journey through Southern Gaul, grave scandals were said to have arisen, and when they arrived at Bordeaux, they were chased out of the town by S. Dauphin. They were not able to persuade Damasus to take up their cause, nor were they more successful at Milan, where they invoked the help of S. Ambrose. Disappointed with the result, one other course was open to them. They too would appeal to

[38] The character which Sulpicius gives him is as follows: "Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse definio: fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri et gulae plurimum impertiens." Chron. II., 50.

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the civil power. By bribing Macedonius, one of the officers of the Emperor (so at least Sulpicius tells us), they won over Gratian to their side, and were allowed to return to their sees. Salvian was dead, but Instantius and Priscillian returned to Spain. The Priscillianists, encouraged by the new turn affairs had taken, proceed to prosecute Ithacius, who flees to Gregory, Prefect of Gaul. Gratian was not, however, led to change his policy again, and as a punishment for his leniency towards the heretics, God allowed him, says Gervaise, to be defeated and killed by Maximus.[38]

With the accession of Maximus the conflict entered upon another phase. He would naturally be inclined to reverse the policy of his predecessor, and deal severely with those whom the fallen court had supported.[39] Ithacius took advantage of this feeling, and lost no time in paying a visit to the newly-appointed Emperor. Maximus gave him a favourable hearing, the result of the interview being that a Council was summoned to re-try the case. The selection of Bordeaux as the place of meeting does not look very much like impartiality, but so it was determined, and this time the accused were compelled to be present. Instantius was not able to make out a good case for himself, and the sentence of deposition

[38] He admits that the punishment was a heavy one considering that Gratian had won the esteem of S. Ambrose and other bishops, but says that God may have punished him severely in this world in order to deal more mercifully with him in another (p. 182). Macedonius also incurred the displeasure of heaven, and met with a violent death.

[39] Fleury, Ecc. Hist. XVIII. 29.

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passed upon him by the Council of Saragossa was ratified. Priscillian, feeling that it was hopeless to plead his own cause before the assembly, appealed to the Emperor. This appeal was allowed by the bishops who were present, and it was this decision that aroused the opposition of S. Martin. He represented to Maximus that the State had no right to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, and while other bishops were using flattery to gain their own ends, he maintained the same bold and dignified attitude.

Meanwhile Ithacius and his friends were doing their best to secure the ruin of the Priscillianist leaders. So long, however, as S. Martin remained with the Emperor they could not get their designs carried out, and when at length he was obliged to leave Trèves he made Maximus promise the safety of the prisoners. Soon after he had gone, Maximus, yielding to the representations of Magnus and Rufus, re-opened the matter, and referred the trial to the prefect Euodius, a man who had the reputation of being severe in his judgments. Euodius found Priscillian and his followers guilty both of heresy and immorality. The Emperor accepted his decision, and signed the death-warrants of Priscillian and some of his accomplices, among whom was a lady named Euchrocia. Instantius and Tiberian were exiled to the Scilly Islands. In order to obtain evidence against the accused recourse was had to torture, and some, in order to escape punishment, turned informers.[40]

[40] Sulp. Sev., Chron. II., 50, 51.

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These violent measures did not produce the desired result. Instead of checking the heresy they caused it to be more widely spread. They increased the devotion of the Priscillianists to the cause. The bodies of the slain were carried back to Spain and there buried with all due honour. Priscillian was regarded not only as a saint, but as a martyr. It was considered a sign of the greatest piety to swear by his name. For fifteen years the agitation it caused remained unallayed.[41] Among the bishops the spirit of partisanship ran very high. Some maintained that he had been wrongly condemned, others that he was guilty of the crimes alleged against him. A very strong feeling of indignation manifested itself, however, against the extreme measures that had been used, and Ithacius was banished from his bishopric. Idacius voluntarily resigned, and would thus have atoned for his shameful part in the condemnation, says Sulpicius, if he had not afterwards sought to regain the position. S. Ambrose and S. Martin were especially strong in their denunciation of the conduct of the Ithacians, and the question was raised whether it was right to communicate with them. S. Ambrose resolutely refused, and was obliged to relinquish his object of obtaining the body of Gratian, as Maximus made this a condition of receiving it. A very much more trying alternative was presented to S. Martin. Hearing with much grief of the death of the Priscillianists he hastened back to Trèves. The Ithacians persuaded Maximus to refuse him admission into the town

[41] Sulp. Sev., Chron. II., 51.

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unless he would communicate with them. If S. Martin had merely wished to remonstrate with the Emperor he might have given up his design. But he had aother object in returning to Trèves. He wished to obtain mercy for some of the followers of the late Emperor. Accordingly he had recourse to a pious evasion. In reply to the question which the envoys of the court put to him as the condition of entering the town, he said that he came with the peace of Christ. This was interpreted to mean peace with the Ithacians, and he was allowed to enter and visit the palace. He then heard with horror that Maximus had given orders for an armed commission to set out for Spain to search out and exterminate all the heretics. There was only just time to prevent the execution of a horrible massacre. The Emperor received him with gracious deference, and expressed his willingness to follow the advice of S. Martin, but only on condition that he would communicate with the Ithacians. This seemed to Maximus the only way out of his difficulty. He did not wish to alienate the other bishops, nor to refuse the request of S. Martin, for whom he professed so much regard. If he would only unite with the bishops then at Trèves for the election of a successor to the vacant see, all would be well. These men, however, with one exception, that of Theognistus, were in communion with the Ithacians. S. Martin hesitated. It was a very difficult case of casuistry for him. If he communicated with these bishops he would seem to give his countenance not only to the intervention of the State in a case which

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he felt ought to have been tried by ecclesiastical courts, but also to the sentence of capital punishment for heresy. If, on the other hand, he refused, the officers for whose lives he had come to Trèves to plead would not be spared, and the murderous embassy already on its way to Spain would not be stopped. The claims of humanity triumphed. Whatever the consequence of his decision these lives at least must be saved. He communicated with the assembled episcopate, and the Emperor fulfilled his promise. But when the bishops further requested him to sign a confirmation of his conduct he refused. He would do no more than barely fulfil the hard and unpleasant condition.[42] Perhaps he was beginning to feel some misgivings as to whether he had acted rightly or not. On the morrow he turned his back upon the Imperial city, resolved never to enter it again, and never again to be present at any assembly of bishops. Not far from the town lay the great forest of Andethana. When he had entered into its solitudes he bid his servants go on before, and being left alone, gave himself up to bitter and searching reflections. What had he done? Had he not weakly yielded to the prompting of mere human instincts? Other thoughts perhaps came to deepen his sadness. How deplorable were these dissensions! How could the kingdom of Christ be advanced when such unscrupulous and hard hearted men were appointed bishops? If these things went on what untold misery the union of the Church with the State

[42] Sulp. Sev., Dial. III., 11 and 12.

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would cause! It is this last point which M. Martin has attributed in his "Histoire populaire" to the saint, and developed with much ingenuity. It is part of a very fantastic attempt to account for the origin and growth of Christianity, but this portion of his theory deserves notice here. Christianity was put, he maintains, into possession of the Empire by arms and political authority. This was a great evil, and would have been almost fatal to the real teaching of Jesus Christ if the spirit of ancient Gaul had not come to the help of the truth. "If Christianity had not been falsified these questions would have been peaceably debated; but after the union of the Church and State all religious discussion led to the intervention of force." Gaul helped to put a stop to the evil in the person of Martin, for he, almost alone, preserved the first spirit of Jesus. Again, referring no doubt to this incident in the forest of Andethana and its effects upon the remaining years of his life, he says, "S. Martin died sad. He seemed to have a presentiment that the spirit of meekness and of liberty, which is the spirit of Jesus, would be oppressed during long ages by the spirit of persecution, and that a hundred times more blood would be shed in the name of Christ than had been done in the name of the pagan gods."[43]

[43] "Hist. populaire," by H. Martin, I., 43, 56, etc. See "Critiques et Réfutations," by Henri de l'Epinois, pp. 35—39. In Dial. II., 14, Sulpicius refers to the saying of S. Martin that Antichrist would come into possession of power before his death. The suggestion has been made that the reference may be to the demon of Christian persecution. Kitchin. "Hist. of France," I., 56.

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Occupied with some such thoughts as these, an angel appeared to him and said, "Martin, it is right that you should have these feelings of compunction, but there was nothing else for you to do. Re-establish your virtue, renew your constancy, lest you imperil not only your glory but even your salvation." These words aroused him from his painful questionings; he resumed his journey home. But his life was changed. We do not find him again engaged in any kind of political relations. Although he lived for eleven years after this he never attended another synod of bishops.[44] He devoted himself to the affairs of his own diocese, extending and strengthening the churches under his care, and directing the monastery at Marmoutier which he loved so well.

But though S. Martin was not satisfied with the work he had been able to accomplish, though he saw his designs thwarted by time-serving bishops, he had not laboured in vain. Only four years after he would hear with delight that one bishop at least had been faithful in rebuking the tyranny of a greater Emperor than Maximus; that Theodosius had been compelled by S. Ambrose publicly to do penance for the rash and cruel massacre at Thessalonica. The ascendancy of the Church was henceforth assured, and it is no wonder that S. Martin is gratefully remembered for the share he took in bringing about the desired result. The fact that the Church in later times fell lamentably short of the ideal formed by men like S. Martin and S. Ambrose, and showed that tyranny was not con-

[44] Sulp. Sev., Dial. III., 13. Sedecim, probably a mistake of copyist.

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fined to civil governments, is no reason why we should refuse to acknowledge the splendid service they rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty. No reform, however salutary for a time, can be final. The best institutions and wisest arrangements are capable of abuse, and the conduct of S. Martin leaves no room for doubt what his attitude was towards ecclesiastical despotism. Elected by the people, he felt that the Church existed for the people; that the life and welfare of men were far more important than the maintenance of outward unity, and rather than run the risk of again compromising his sense of justice and humanity, he voluntarily cut himself off from the society of his fellow bishops. It is natural that Romanists should condemn S. Martin for yielding, even for one hour, so far as to communicate with the Ithacians. That involved a breach of ecclesiastical order.[45] But such an exaltation of ecclesiastical order over the rights of the individual to the justice and charity of his fellow men is not the spirit of Christ, and it was not the spirit of S. Martin. We hardly know which to admire most, the rebuke which he gave to the tyrannical measure of Maximus, or the

[45] *e.g.* Gervaise, p. 207. "La] compassion qui était née, pour ainsi dire, avec lui, lui fit oublier dans cette occasion ce qu'il devait aux Loix et la discipline de l'Église. Il crût que la charité qui couvre la multitude des pechez devoit l'emporter sur toute autre consideration. On ne s'étonnera pas de voir une si grand saint tomber dans une faute legére; si l'on fait refléxion que les Apôtres même, n'en ont pas été tout-à-fait exemts, puisque S. Paul nous apprend qu'il résista en face à S. Pierre parce qu'il était, dit-il, répréhensible." Dupuy (IV., 4) also regards it as a fault, though one which, as it reveals his human weakness, thereby endears him to us the more.

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protest his conduct afforded to the tyranny of ecclesiastic rules when these happened to conflict with the claims of morality. The latter involved a terrible struggle with his own passionate fondness for order and discipline, and with the prejudices of the time. That he was able to make the decision which he did is not the least of his claims to be regarded by posterity as one of the saints.

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CHAPTER II.

S. MARTIN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

WE now turn to another aspect of the work of S. Martin. We have already seen how his sympathies had been aroused at the sight of the poverty and suffering around him, and how in order to do something to improve the social condition of the people he had founded his monasteries at Liguri and Marmoutier. We must now consider more in detail the character of these institutions.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the motive here assigned for the establishment of monastic life in Gaul was one of the most powerful, if not the only one, which led S. Martin to undertake this course. He could never have remained satisfied with the dreamy solitude of some of the Eastern monks. Even when he fled to the desert isle of Gallinaria, he took with him a faithful companion, and very soon found an excuse to give up a life which from its loneliness and isolation must have been almost unbearable to his society-loving nature. His love for men taught him the emptiness of any life which was self-centred, and did not acknowledge in some way the claims of human brotherhood. It was no desire to live a life

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of contemplation, or to escape from the troubles of the world, that caused him to establish his retreats. He had a work to do, a contribution to make towards the solution of the difficult social problems of his age, and the form which monasticism took in the West was largely owing to the large-heartedness of S. Martin. Differences of climate and physical temperament help no doubt to account for the contrasts of Eastern and Western monasticism, but the development of the monastic idea, even in the practical West, would have been far less fruitful of good if there had not been found a man, not only wise enough to discern the signs of the time, but also desirous of doing his utmost for the alleviation of human suffering. The design which S. Martin formed was the establishment of a new community, which might serve as a refuge for those who were unable to bear the evils of existing society, and which also might do something to mitigate the lot of those who preferred to remain under the old order. This double purpose will be very manifest if we consider the leading features of the life pursued in the monasteries of Gaul.

I.—The first condition of entrance into the new communities was, of course, celibacy. In times of great social distress, when the claims of the poor had been realised, this form of self-denial has often seemed to offer at least a partial solution of the difficulty; it was eagerly seized upon by S. Martin, and recommended to others with all the earnestness of his nature. He was never tired of insisting upon the superior virtue of this manner of life. He did not share the extreme views of Eastern ascetics. Marriage

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was lawful and honourable, but very much inferior to celibacy. Sulpicius has preserved one or two illustrations of his teaching on this point.

When walking one day with his disciples he directed their attention to a meadow in which some oxen and swine were feeding. The part occupied by the latter was bare and disorderly, while the oxen had only been robbing the field of the flowers and longer grass. A portion also remained yet unattacked by either. The saint, observing the contrast, took up his parable and said: "Consider the condition of this meadow. The part where the oxen are grazing, and where you see no flowers, but only simple verdure, is an image of marriage. That which the swine have ravaged is a figure of fornication. The rest which has sustained no injury shows the glory of virginity: there the herbs flourish and the field is adorned with countless flowers; so the state of virginity is adorned with all beautiful and worthy qualities. Nothing can compare with virginity: it is worthy of God. Those who compare fornication with marriage err grievously: those who think that marriage is to be esteemed as much as virginity, are equally foolish. This is the distinction to be made by the wise—marriage is permitted, virginity brings glory, fornication, punishment."[1]

The conduct of one of the monks gave occasion for another discourse on the duties of celibacy. A soldier having renounced his profession came along with his wife to seek admission into the monastic life. He

[1] Sulp. Sev., Dial II., 10.

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was received by S. Martin, who having caused the woman to be sent to a house which he had founded for virgins, allowed him to live as a hermit in the neighbourhood of the monastery. Soon the poor man grew tired of his solitary existence, and ventured to suggest to S. Martin that, as he and his wife were engaged in the same service, they should be allowed to see each other; that it would be a help to him; and that there was no fear of either of them breaking their vows of consecration. S. Martin proceeded to show him the weakness of his reasoning. "Have you ever been to the wars and engaged in battle with the enemy? If so, did you ever see a woman fighting there along with her husband?" The man at once saw his mistake, blushed deeply, and thanked the saint for having saved him from error.

S. Martin then proceeded to instruct his disciples on the isolation it was necessary for the sexes to maintain. "A woman," said he, "should not enter the camp of men, the line of soldiers should remain separate. She must live alone in her own tent. For the army is brought into contempt, if a troop of women is mingled with the cohorts of the men. Let the soldier serve in the line and in the camp, but let the woman remain within the defences of the walls. She too will have her own glory, if, while her husband is absent, she shall have preserved her modesty, for it is her highest virtue and greatest victory not to be seen."[2]

The monastic life, then, was recommended for

[2] Sulp. Sev., Dial. II., 11.

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women as well as for men. S. Martin himself showed the greatest regard for those who had consecrated themselves to the service of God in this way. On one occasion as he was passing a spot where a virgin whose reputation for piety was unusually great lived, he expressed his wish to see her. She refused to allow him to come. Far from being annoyed, says Sulpicius, he admired her constancy and devotion, and consented to accept a present from her, although he had refused the gifts of emperors.[3]

A story is also told to illustrate the esteem the virgins had for the saint. Having to pass through the town of Clodiomacus or Chatillon, he spent the night there, sleeping in one of the vestries of the church, upon a straw pallet. After his departure on the morrow, some of these holy women, who lived in the neighbourhood, entered the church, and having kissed the bed upon which the saint had slept, divided the straw amongst them. These relics were found to be of great service in performing cures; and an instance is given of a demoniac who was at once liberated from the evil spirit by the application of a blade of the straw to his neck.[4]

II.—Though the isolation of the sexes was rigorously maintained, the life of the monasteries was otherwise a social one. It was this that made them attractive to many of the homeless and friendless Gauls. The fact has often been adduced as illustrating the divergence of the West from the Eastern model. The following passage of Guizot's may be

[3] Sulp. Sev., Dial. II. 12. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 8.

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quoted as expressing this view. "The primitive character of these Gaulish monasteries has been quite different from that of the Eastern monasteries. In the East the monasteries have had above all for their end isolation and contemplation; the men who withdrew into the Thebaid wished to escape the pleasures, the temptations, and corruption of civil society; they wished to free themselves entirely from all social intercourse, and give themselves up to the impulses of their imagination and the rigours of their conscience. It was only later that they were collected in the places where they had been at first dispersed, and from anchorites, or solitaries, became cenobites, κοινόβιοι, living in common. In the West, and in spite of the example of the East, the monasteries have had quite another origin; they commenced from a common life, from the need not of isolation but of reunion. Civil society was a prey to all sorts of disorders; national, provincial, or municipal, it was breaking up on all sides: every asylum was wanting to men who wished to discuss, to exercise themselves, to live together; they found one in the monasteries. The monastic life had not thus in its origin a solitary character; it was, on the contrary, very social, very active."[5]

As a general statement of the characteristic differences of East and West, this is, no doubt, very true, but it is only a rough generalisation. We should not be justified in supposing that the social disorders and

[5] "Civil. en France," I., 109. *Cf.* Milman, "Hist. of Latin Christianity," C., vi. "Dict. of Christian Antiquities," p. 1221.

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corruptions of the times always acted in only one of these ways. It is not quite correct, *e.g.*, to say that the West adopted monasticism without first passing through a stage of isolated monachism. There were hermits and solitaries in Gaul before the first monasteries were founded, just as there were in the Thebaid before the Cenobitic life took shape.[6] But it is not necessary here to consider the qualifications which might have to be introduced to make the statement absolutely correct. It expresses very well the aim which S. Martin had in the formation of his monasteries. The model which he set was adopted also, and further developed by those who succeeded him, and accounts largely for the superiority and permanence of the institutions in the West.

III.—The kind of life the monasteries afforded does not seem to have been excessively rigorous. Marmoutier was situated about two miles outside the city of Tours, in a quiet and retired spot, shut in on one side by a high cliff, and on the other by the river Loire. Here S. Martin built himself a hut with the branches of the trees. Some of the monks followed his example; others dug out caves for themselves in the rock. In these they spent most of their time in quiet meditation, assembling at the set time to partake of their common meal or to attend the appointed services. No manual labour was enjoined, except the

[6] Matter. Histoire, I., 417. "Deux hommes douées du génie de l'organisation, Martin de Tours et Cassien de Marseille, vinrent reunir dans des asiles communs les solitaires épars dans les bois de l'Italie et de la Gaule et des essaims d'ascétes furent attirés par le renom de ces saints hommes."

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copying of books, and even this light work was confined to the juniors. Their austerities consisted in wearing skins or other rough clothing, in abstaining from washing,[7] and in limiting themselves to one meal a day. What it consisted of we do not know; fish was allowed at Easter, wine only in case of sickness.[8] The Gauls did not, however, believe in fasting, and they probably got whatever they could from the river and neighbouring country. In the first dialogue of Sulpicius there is an amusing conversation on the subject of fasting. Postumianus has been relating his adventures in the East, and how, on one occasion, when he arrived with three others at the hut of a Cyrenean hermit, a few herbs and half a barley loaf were set on the table for the refreshment of the four strangers and the host. "Smiling at this, I said to my Gallus, 'How do you like the idea of a small bundle of herbs and half a loaf as a meal for five men?' Then he, modest man that he is, blushed a little at my banter, and said, 'It is just like you, Sulpicius; you are always teasing us for being gourmands; but it is absurd to suppose that we men of Gaul can live like angels, although, for that matter,

[7] S. Martin himself showed the same disregard; *cp.* the description of his enemies: "Hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, crine deformem."—V. B. M. 9. When at Auvergne he visited the tomb of S. Vitaline; the departed saint appeared to him, and said that she had been prevented from enjoying the vision of God, "Because," said she, "I was in the habit of washing my face with too much affectation and care on the Friday of each week." S. Martin prayed for her, and the vision was granted her. "Greg. Tours Hist.," X., 31.

[8] V. B. M. 10.

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I could believe that the angels found pleasure in eating. Let that Cyrenean be content with his half barley loaf. We are neither angels nor Cyreneans, but, as I have often told you, we are Gauls.' 'Well, then,' said Postumianus, 'I will take care henceforth not to extol anybody's abstinence, that I may not, by a difficult example, offend our Gauls.'"[9]

IV.—It is important to notice particularly one fact stated in the last paragraph, viz., the very small amount of manual work allotted to the monks, as this was not one of the leading features of later monasticism in the West. On the contrary, the rules of S. Benedict and others enjoined it; the cultivation of the lands round the monasteries became part of the daily work of the monks. It is perhaps strange that the idea should not have occurred to S. Martin. Vast tracts of country were already deprived of cultivators; S. Basil had set the example in the East. It may, however, have been owing to his principle of avoiding any source of income. He did not want his monasteries to be self-supporting. He thought that they ought to be maintained at the expense of the Church. "Let the Church both feed and clothe us," he said, "so long as we seem to seek nothing for our own interests."[10] But, whatever the reason may have been, S. Martin did not originate the practice of tilling the land, which had such important economic results in later times.

[9] Dial. I., 4 and 5.

[10] Dial. III. 14. *Cf.* the saying of S. Jerome, "Ep. ad Heliodor." "Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor."

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V.—Two other striking features of later Western monasticism, however, existed in germ in the institutions of S. Martin.

Firstly, they were centres of charity. Although he refused to receive endowments for his monasteries, he accepted presents for the benefit of the poor. Sulpicius relates how he obtained a large sum of money on one occasion. The family of Licontius, who had been one of the Imperial Vicars, was seized with a malignant disease. Having sent to S. Martin imploring aid, the saint betook himself to prayer and fasting. At the end of seven days and seven nights his prayer was answered, and all were restored to health. As a thank-offering Licontius gave to S. Martin a hundred pounds of silver, which he devoted to the redemption of captives.[11]

Secondly, they were centres of literary activity. For centuries they were almost the only homes of learning, the only agents in keeping alive the love of knowledge. This is acknowledged to be one of the chief debts civilisation owes to monasticism, and especially to the form which it took in the West. Gaul contributed her share to this intellectual development. "The monasteries of the South of Gaul are the philosophical schools of Christendom; it was from them that there went forth new ideas, freedom of thought, heresies. It was in the abbeys of Saint-Victor and of Lérius that all the great questions of freewill, predestination, grace, original sin, were discussed with the greatest vigour, and where

[11] Dial. III., 14.

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Pelagian opinions found for fifty years the most sustenance and support."[12]

S. Martin, however, had nothing to do with the monasteries of Southern Gaul, except in so far as his own life and work gave an impetus to the spread of monasticism in general. Nor was he distinguished as a scholar himself. Yet we can discover traces of the value he set upon learning, in his own knowledge of the scriptures and his skill in expounding them,[13] in the copying of books, which he assigned to his monks,[14] in the instruction he gave to catechumens at his monastery of Liguré,[15] and in the fact that his monasteries were intended to supply the place of Theological Seminaries. It is to this last and important aspect that we must now turn, and it will serve as a point of transition from the social to the more distinctly religious features of S. Martin's work.

VI.—The combination of the clerical and monastic professions in the West has sometimes been regarded, but erroneously, as the work of S. Augustine. The letter of S. Ambrose to the Church at Vercelli says that Eusebius of Vercelli (consecrated bishop in 340 A.D., died 371 A.D.) was the first to unite in the West these two different vocations.[16] It is quite certain that it was adopted by S. Martin.

Contrary to the usual custom, S. Martin was himself

[12] Guizot. "Civil. en France," I., p. 110.

[13] V. B. M. 25. [14] *Ibid.*, 10. [15] *Ibid.*, 7.

[16] Ep. LXIII. 66 (Migne). "Haec enim primus in Occidentis partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctae memoriae conjunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate." Baronius (an. 328 num. 22), referring to this combination, says, "Quod ipsum praestantissimum vitae genus sanctus Martinus Turonensis transvexit in Gallias et sanctus Augustinus in Africam, qui

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bishop and monk. When he became bishop he did not abandon his austere mode of life. At first he occupied a small cell adjoining the church, but, finding himself subject to many interruptions there, he removed to the solitude of Marmoutier, where he was joined by eighty other monks among whom he lived as brother and head.[17] The custom of having monastic bishops continued in the monastery of Tours for seven hundred years. It was confirmed by Pope Hadrian I., and abolished by Urban II. The only other instance in Gaul was the Abbey of S. Denis, which had monastic bishops from the year 768 A.D. until the reign of Charles the Bald. In Ireland, on the other hand, it was not uncommon, and may have been adopted out of regard to S. Martin. If so, it is only one out of many indications of a friendly connection existing between Ireland and the monastery at Tours. There is no decisive evidence of there being monastic bishops in England at any time, though a canon of the Synod of Hereford in 673 A.D. has been adduced in support of the view. The case of S. Martin must therefore be regarded as exceptional in the West.[18]

As the monastic and clerical offices were united in

admirabili quadam connexione duo haec (ut dictum est) omnium perfectissima vitae genera, clericorum et monachorum, in unum pariter conjungentes, tanquam lucidissimis astris ut olim martyres tempore persecutionis, in pace, Christi ecclesiam exornarunt."

[17] V. B. M. 10. Ep. ad Bas.

[18] Basnage, "Hist. de l'Eglise," I. 21. Todd, "Life of S. Patrick," p 319. Bede, "Hist. Eccl.," IV. 5. "Ut episcopi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per demissionem proprii abbatis." The reading "episcopi monachi" is, however, disputed.

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his own person, so also were they in his disciples. Many went out from Marmoutier to take the oversight of country parishes. These had hitherto been greatly neglected. Heathenism was still prevalent in the country districts, and S. Martin formed the design of furnishing a supply of men trained in his own monastery to meet the urgent need. He considered that the hardships and discipline of the monastery were the best preparation for the rough work they had to do. The strangeness of their dress and habits would also attract the attention and awe of the villagers. S. Martin was not alone in holding this belief. S. Basil preferred to ordain those who had given proof of their constancy by a life of self-mortification and discipline. The quiet of the monastery was favourable for meditation and prayer, and so afforded a very valuable help in a distracted age. But there was the serious danger of losing touch with the outside world. This was pointed out by S. Chrysostom. "The monk," he says, "lives in a calm where there is little to oppose him. The skill of the pilot cannot be known till he has taken the helm in open sea in rough weather. Too many of those who have passed from the seclusion of the cloister to the active sphere of the priest or bishop have lost their head, and often instead of adding to their virtue have been deprived of the good qualities they already possessed. Monasticism often serves as a screen to failings which active life draws out, just as the qualities of metals are tested by fire." [19]

[19] See Stephen's "Life of S. Chrysostom," p. 53.

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The institution of S. Martin was successful as a training college for the ministry, and the monks were very popular. Many of them afterwards became bishops. "For what town or church," says Sulpicius, "is there which did not desire to have a priest from Martin's monastery."[20]

As centres of Evangelistic work, and as furnishing a large supply of men who were ready to go and labour among the neglected regions of Gaul, the monasteries had an important civilizing influence, and it is not surprising that the name of S. Martin lingered long among the rural populations.[21]

Thus in more ways than one the monasteries of Gaul appealed to the sympathies of the people. They were open to all. Rich and poor met together on equal terms. On entering they embraced a life of poverty and hardship, but one of security and also of usefulness. No wonder that even the more wealthy often found their way to these retreats. The curialis became transformed from a pitiless taxgatherer into a minister of charity or a preacher of the Gospel. "He could enter the house of the poor without seeing desolation painted on the faces of all that saw him, without disputing with the dying mother and starving children for the obol gained by the toil of

[20] V. B. M. 10.

[21] Beugnot, VI., 2. Milman, "Hist. of Christianity," III., 11. Mezeray, "Histoire de France," I., 316. Lanigan, "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland," I., 157. This aspect of the monasteries is so striking that Gervaise even contended that S. Martin did not belong to the monastic order (p. 43). For this he has been severely criticised by Dom. Badier and L. de la Marche, "Vie de S. Martin," p. 160.

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the father."[22] If his heart had become hardened at the sight of habitual wretchedness, more interested motives would not be wanting. He knew that soon he might have to give up all that he had: it mattered little whether he gave it up gradually to supply the deficiencies of the taxes, or all at once to enter a monastery.

But they were not only open to all who sought refuge and brotherhood; to those that remained outside they were ministers of good. They sent forth into the remotest parts of the country the light and hope of the Gospel. They championed the cause of the oppressed, and alleviated the sufferings of the poor.

[22] De Broglie, III., 462.

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CHAPTER III.

S. MARTIN AS MISSIONARY.

IN the evangelisation of the country districts S. Martin himself took the leading part. At the head of small companies of his monks he traversed the land in all directions, preaching, working miracles, pulling down heathen temples, and building churches in their place. His labours extended far beyond the limits of his diocese. Relying upon three sources of evidence, viz., written documents, traditions or legends, and monuments, M. de la Marche has entered upon a lengthy discussion of all the localities S. Martin visited. The conclusion arrived at, as the result of his investigation, is, that it is absolutely certain S. Martin set foot in the following countries: Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Chartrain, Ile-de-France, Picardie, Trèves, Sénonais, Burgundy, Switzerland, Dauphiny, Auvergne, Berry, Poitou, Saintonge, Bordelais, and possibly also Artois, Flanders, part of Belgium, Lorraine, Champagne, Franche-Comté, Savoy, Forez, Nivernais, and even a corner of Normandy and modern Brittany.[1] If this be so, S.

[1] pp. 275—336.

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Martin must have visited not only places in Central Gaul outside his own diocese, but also large parts of Northern and Southern Gaul, and even some foreign countries. There is no doubt, however, that his own country, and in particular the Celtic Province, afforded a very large field of work, and we have now to notice the methods employed and the success which he met with there, taking as our guide the graphic accounts of Sulpicius.

The first incident is rather an unfortunate one with S. Martin, as on this occasion he made a serious mistake, and, as Gibbon says, "imprudently committed a miracle." When he was out one day he met a funeral procession. Being about five hundred paces off, he did not discern clearly what it was, and instead of waiting to see, concluded that it must be a troop of Gallic peasants parading the country with their idols. He raised his hands, and, making the sign of the cross, commanded them to stop and lay down their burden. Wonderful to relate, you would have seen these poor people first remain motionless as stones, then, as they tried to move forward, quite unable to advance. They could only whirl round and round fantastically, till, wearied out, they laid down their burden, and stood looking at each other in silent wonder. When, however, the holy man got nearer, he perceived that they were not sacrificing to demons, but engaged in bearing the body of a friend to its last resting-place, and so, raising his hands again, he suffered them to proceed.[2]

[2] V. B. M. 12.

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There is clearly no need here to resort to the supernatural to explain the occurrence: the surprise and consternation of the villagers at being thus rudely interrupted will account for everything. It is valuable as illustrating the superstition and fear of the country people. A non-miraculous explanation might also be given of the next incident.

Having destroyed in a certain village a very ancient temple, and being about to cut down a fir tree which stood near it, he was opposed by the priests and peasants. S. Martin was determined to destroy this object of idolatrous worship: the priests were equally determined to prevent him if possible. We should, perhaps, have expected force to be employed; but it was not S. Martin's method, nor did the priests dare to use violence. A proposition was therefore made, which is a curious illustration of the heathen ideas from which S. Martin was not himself free. One of the priests, bolder than the rest, thus addressed him: "If thou hast any trust in thy God we will ourselves cut down this tree, and thou shalt be on the side on which it will fall, and if thy God be with thee thou wilt suffer no harm." S. Martin, full of confidence in God, consented, and was accordingly placed just where the tree was likely to fall, bound with fetters so that he could not move from the spot. Great was the joy of the pagans, who thought that certain death awaited this sacrilegious monk. Presently the tree began to lean directly over the helpless man. The monks turned pale. It creaked, and was just falling when S. Martin made the sign of the cross. O prodigy! Instead of completing its descent, it at

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once became upright again, and tumbling over on the opposite side, almost overthrew the crowd who thought they stood out of harm's way. The heathen were confounded by the miracle: the monks wept for joy. The name of Christ was proclaimed, and salvation came that day to the district. For out of that vast crowd of heathens there was hardly anyone who did not forthwith forsake his error, and believe in the Lord Jesus, receiving the imposition of hands; and, indeed, says the biographer, before the advent of S. Martin there were hardly any who bore the name of Christ, but owing to the virtues of this missionary, there was afterwards no place in those regions, which had not its churches or monasteries: for wherever he destroyed a heathen temple he built churches or monasteries in its place.[3]

This is the only instance of a sacred tree being destroyed by S. Martin. We cannot tell what religious cult it represented, because the practice of worshipping under trees has been observed by so many different peoples, from the time of the Patriarchs downwards. Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germans all recognised this form or place of worship. Pliny says that each kind of tree is consecrated to a special divinity. The oak we know was a favourite among the Druids. The Germans consecrated woods and forests for the worship of their gods. The Romans respected these natural sanctuaries, and forbid them to be cut down unless prayer and sacrifice was first offered. This superstition was shared by Greeks, Celts, and Germans;

[3] V. B. M. 13.

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death was the penalty for violating the custom.[4] It is perhaps most likely that the consecrated tree and the temples also were used for the old Gallic worship, as this was the most persistent element of heathenism in Gaul. Sulpicius speaks of the temples as being very ancient, and it is not probable that the Romans would have erected their temples in the remote parts of Gaul. They were not anxious like the Christian missionaries to propagate their own religion among the peasants, nor to erect temples for them.

On another occasion S. Martin tried a quicker method of destroying a temple. He imprudently set fire to it. The wind carried the flames in the direction of an adjoining house, which would have been burned to the ground along with the temple had he not ascended to the roof, and succeeded, in spite of the wind, in turning the flames into the opposite direction.[5]

At a place called Leprosum he met with greater opposition. The temple was a very rich one, and heathenism was evidently stronger in this village. His first attack was repulsed, and he was obliged to withdraw. He hid himself in a solitary place not far from the town, and covering himself with sackcloth and ashes continued for three days prostrate upon the ground, eating nothing, but praying that as human strength had not sufficed to overthrow the temple the divine power might. At the end of the three days two angels armed with shield and buckler appeared

[4] See Dulaure, "Histoire Abrégée de Différens Cultes," I., 4.
[5] V. B. M. 14.

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to him, and declared that they had been sent by God to put to flight the pagan mob and defend him while he renewed his attack upon the building.

What was the meaning of this vision? Did he regard it as granting permission to employ physical force in this holy campaign? Were these heavenly visitants two Roman soldiers? Whatever it was, it inspired him with fresh courage; he returned to the village, and without any opposition from the heathen, he razed the temple to the ground, grinding to powder the altars and images. When the villagers saw that it was clearly the divine will they almost all believed on Jesus as Lord, shouting openly and confessing that the God of Martin was to be worshipped, and that the idols which could neither help themselves nor others were to be despised.[6]

When he was destroying a temple in the country of the Aedui, the people opposed him, and one man ventured to raise his sword to kill him. S. Martin bared his neck for the blow, when suddenly the man fell backward, and seized with dread prayed for pardon. At another time a man was about to strike the saint when the weapon flew from his hand, and was nowhere to be found. Very often, when the villagers resisted him, he used such gentle but powerful words, that he persuaded them to desist from their opposition, and join him in the assault on their own temples.[7]

It is possible that S. Martin came into contact with a different religion when in the country of the Aedui.

[6] V. B. M. 14. [7] V. B. M. 15.

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The capital, Autun, had been one of the chief strongholds of Druidism. The worship of Cybele was also established there. But this is only conjectural. Gregory of Tours mentions the fact that the latter cult still reigned at Autun in the time of Simplicius; but it is not likely that Druidism was possessed of any vitality at this time.

A community of Christians had been formed at Amboise, which had been the seat of idolatrous worship. A column of unusual size and importance still remained standing there. S. Martin had frequently sent word to Marcellus, a presbyter, to destroy it. As the undertaking was so great, and his colleagues were so feeble, Marcellus did not feel able to comply with the request. S. Martin went there himself and, having spent the night in prayer, was gratified at seeing it overthrown by a fierce tempest the next morning. Marcellus was a witness of this event.[8]

In another town there was another immense column with an idol upon the top of it. S. Martin prayed, and another column fell from heaven and ground it to powder.[9]

Before passing from this iconoclasm of S. Martin two questions suggest themselves. (1) By what means was he able to accomplish all this destructive work; and (2) was his conduct illegal?

With regard to the first it may be said that his success was due to (*a*) Supernatural Agency, or (*b*) Persuasion or (*c*) Force. The first of these explanations is, to say the least, improbable. There was no need for the

[8] Dial. III., 8. [9] Dial. III., 9.

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exercise of supernatural power; nor are the narratives consistent with our ideas of the methods of Divine interposition. Nor is it necessary to suppose that S. Martin was accompanied by trained bands of soldiers in his crusade against the temples. The opposition was not serious enough for that: none of the heathens cared to risk their lives in defence of their gods. His stalwart company of monks armed with axes and crowbars would be equal to the task, except perhaps when he ventured nearer the large towns. The people were ready to hear and accept any gospel. They had been despised and neglected, and now gladly welcomed one who had made their cause his own.

The second question must be answered in the affirmative. "No one in the Empire of the West," says Beugnot, "had received from the laws or from the prince the right to traverse the country and overthrow the idols or demolish the temples, and it is necessary to believe that S. Martin would have been punished if the hand of God had not been extended to protect him."[10] The policy of Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens had been one of strict toleration. Gratian ordered the statue of Victory to be removed from the Senate, confiscated estates belonging to heathen temples, and took away some other privileges from the pagans, Theodosius took stronger measures. In 380 A.D, he issued an edict stating that it was his pleasure that all the nations belonging to the Empire should embrace the religion

[10] "Hist. de la Destruct. de Paganisme," II., 304.

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which the divine Apostle Peter handed down to the Romans. In 381 or 383 he decreed that all who had relapsed into paganism should forfeit the right to dispose of their property by will. In the year 385 magical rites were forbidden under pain of death. In 391 sacrifice to idols and even entering the temples was forbidden. Theodoret states that Theodosius also ordered the demolition of the temples, but the law is not extant. Neander suggests that the other laws would furnish a sufficient pretext for destroying the temples. All these laws were operative chiefly in the East, and it was not until the beginning of the fifth century that paganism was vigorously suppressed in the West, but there was quite enough to make the heathen live in a state of continual fear. S. Martin was only a little in advance of the State when he undertook to destroy the temples of Gaul.[11]

In his numerous journeys through the country S. Martin was accompanied by some of his monks. On these occasions he relaxed the seriousness of his usual demeanour, and engaged in free and almost sportive comments upon the natural objects that seized his attention, always however seeking to draw some valuable lesson from them. These parables certainly show a species of humour and originality, not perhaps of the highest order, but sufficiently quaint and striking to make us wish for a few more illustrations of it. One has already been noticed; Sulpicius has preserved two or three more. One day, seeing a sheep which had been newly shorn, he

[11] Neander, pp. 100-114. "Dict. of Christian Antiquities," II., 1538.

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directed the attention of his disciples to it, thus: "See, my brethren, this sheep has fulfilled the command of the Gospel; she had two coats, and she has given one of them to him that hath none; even so ought you to do."[12]

A little further on they met a poor swineherd, having nothing on him except a skin garment. "There," said he, "is an image of Adam, cast out of Paradise, clothed in skins and feeding swine. But let us put off the old Adam, and let us rather put on the new."[13]

When walking beside a river he noticed some birds diving after fish, and pursuing their prey with increasing avidity. "An image," said he, "of the demons: they lay snares for the incautious, and take them unawares, and when they have devoured them they are not satisfied." He then commanded them with a loud voice that they should leave the river, and go into the dry and desert regions. At once the birds assembled, and then flew off to the mountains and woods.[14]

Sometimes he walked on alone in front of his disciples. At other times he rode upon an ass. He was once riding thus along the highway when he met a chariot full of soldiers. Unaccustomed to so strange an object as S. Martin seemed in his black flowing robe, the horses took fright. The soldiers enraged, leapt from the chariot, and cruelly maltreated him. When the monks came up to the rescue they found him covered with dust and blood, and very badly

[12] Dial. II., 10. [13] *Ibid.* [14] Ep. ad Bas.

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hurt. S. Martin was speedily avenged; not by the monks, but by a divine judgment. The horses having recovered from the fright, became all at once obstinate and immovable. The soldiers used threats, shouted, and swore, cut down branches of the trees to urge the horses forward. But it was all to no purpose. The animals remained motionless, as though fixed to the spot. The soldiers are completely confounded, and go back and beg mercy of the saint for their cruel treatment of him. Then S. Martin prays to God. The horses are liberated, and the journey continued in safety.[15] The story is interesting, as showing the reputation of the saint. As soon as the soldiers discovered that the monk whom they had beaten was Bishop of Tours, they were afraid, and feared that unpleasant consequences might follow from their hasty conduct.

Miracles of another kind also happened during these journeys. At Paris he is said to have cured a leper, who was suffering from a severe form of the disease, by a kiss and a benediction.[16] At Trèves he restored a paralytic to health. The fame of this miracle extended to the family of the Pro-consul, and Tetradius, although a Pagan, sent for S. Martin to cure one of his servants who was possessed with a demon. The saint would not, however, enter the house of a heathen, so Tetradius was baptized and the miracle wrought. Another demon was also exorcised at this time. When at Trèves on one occasion he found the city in great confusion. A

[15] Dial. II., 3. [16] V. B. M. 18.

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report had gone abroad that the barbarians were about to plunder the city. S. Martin, having discovered that it was the work of ten demons, succeeded in removing the cause of fear.[17] Perhaps we have here another indication of his political influence. In the neighbourhood of Sens he delivered a village from a desolating scourge of hail, which had been a source of great loss to the country-side for some years. So effectual was the prayer of S. Martin, that the storm did not revisit the place for twenty years, recurring again only when he died.[18] At Chartres he healed a girl who had been dumb from her birth. He was going to that town in company with the bishops of Rouen and Chartres, when the father of the girl met him and implored his help. S. Martin did not like to work the miracle in the presence of two such holy men, and suggested that they were better fitted to perform the cure. They, however, prevailed upon him, and having anointed her tongue with oil, he effected a cure.[19] At another town he raised from the dead a youth, the only son of his mother.[20] This was the only instance of his restoring any one to life during his episcopacy. The effect of this miracle was the conversion of a great number of the townspeople, whom he at once enrolled as catechumens; judging, as he was accustomed to say, that there was special appropriateness in doing so on this occasion, inasmuch as here martyrs formerly used to be consecrated.

[17] V. B. M. 17 and 18.
[18] Dial. III., 7.
[19] Dial. III., 2.
[20] Dial. II., 4.

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Such then was the character of the missions S. Martin engaged in, and by which he has won for himself the title of the Apostle of Gaul. In the prosecution of this work he was no doubt acting from the best of motives. He was desirous of promoting the welfare of the people, of bringing them from heathenism to Christianity, but the methods he adopted were calculated rather to make them members of a Christian organisation than Christians in heart and life. Perhaps the one was designed to lead up to the other; no doubt in some cases it did. But after fully recognising the effect which the character and preaching of S. Martin would be likely to have, we must acknowledge that in the majority of cases it was not the substitution of real Christianity for heathenism, but the introduction of heathenism into a Christian organisation. This is not said to depreciate the part he took in the evangelization of Gaul. The work which he undertook was an important and necessary one, it was attended with difficulty and ardous labour, and we can appreciate his courage and self-denial without accepting the exaggerations of those who think less of the claims of truth than of extolling the merits of the saints. Heathenism was not banished from Gaul as the result of S. Martin's work. He only assisted in its downfall. Other forces had long been at work in weakening its hold upon the people; neither in the lifetime of S. Martin nor his successors was heathenism extinct.

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CHAPTER IV.

S. MARTIN AS BISHOP.

ONE more aspect of S. Martin's work remains to be noticed, the more distinctively episcopal. This is the least important: the ecclesiastic is almost lost in the Defensor, Monk, and Missionary. During the last half of his episcopal life he absented himself entirely from all synods; he had few opportunities of showing his zeal for orthodox doctrine; there are no accounts of his ordaining clergy; we do not know what parishes he formed.[1]

Sulpicius is not, however, altogether silent concerning this phase of S. Martin's work, and it will be necessary to gather up these fragments in order to complete the portraiture of the man.

In spite of the constant demands made upon him in other ways, and his desire to preserve, as far as possible the spirit of retreat and meditation, he found time for pastoral visitation. It was his custom at intervals to leave his cell and visit his diocese, that he might see how the new churches were prospering, and

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[1] See, however, L. de la Marche IV. 3. He also thinks that S. Martin was Metropolitan, the city of Tours having been raised to the dignity in the time of Valentinian I. or Gratian, p. 237. Dupuy says in 394 A.D., V. 6. Reinkens, 511 A.D., p. 126. Gervaise, 395 A.D., p. 225

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encourage his clergy. During one of these circuits he was miraculously preserved from death. When he arrived in midwinter at one of the churches, he wished to pass the night in the sacristy; a bed of straw was accordingly prepared for him, and as it was very cold weather, a fire was lighted. Having done this the attendants departed, locking the doors after them. When he had been resting some time he thought that his bed was too soft, and pushed the straw aside. In doing so part got too near the fire, and was presently in a blaze, which spread also to the furniture in the room. On awaking the saint was much alarmed, and was accustomed afterwards to say that he believed the Devil had contributed not a little to his discomfiture. He first rushed to the door but found that fast. Then, having no hope of escape, he betook himself to prayer. The fire continued until it attracted the notice of some monks who slept near. They hastened to the church expecting to find S. Martin suffocated or burnt to death. Great was their surprise when they found him in the midst of the flames, praying and praising God, like the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace.

This incident gave occasion of detraction to the enemies of the saint. They asked why, if he had such power to work miracles, did he not extinguish the fire. Sulpicius replies by referring to the barbarian estimate of S. Paul at Melita, and the reviling words of the enemies of our Lord, "He saved others, Himself He cannot save."[2]

[2] Ep. ad Euseb.

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S. Martin was accustomed to leave the monastery and attend the church in order to celebrate Holy Communion. For this act he prepared himself by special prayer and meditation, either kneeling, or sitting upon a simple rustic stool, until the priests, having finished hearing the cases brought to them, came to remind him that the hour had arrived. Leaving the sacristy, he entered the church with the greatest reverence, and refused to have any bishop's throne or special seat prepared for him, believing that there should be nothing even to suggest the idea of human greatness at such a time.[3]

Other duties called him to the church. Foremost amongst these was the work of exorcising evil spirits. His entrance was the signal for the most violent agitations among the possessed. Of these S. Martin took no notice, but covering himself with sackcloth and ashes, prayed until the demons came out.

The demons sometimes attacked him under visible forms. His disciples only heard their words: they did not see them. It was S. Martin's special distinction to receive real objective manifestations. This fact leads Gervaise to notice the difference drawn by the "Fathers of the spiritual life" between exterior and interior temptations.[4] The latter are common among the imperfect: the former belong to the saints. For these having all their faculties completely consecrated and united to God, the Devil can find no means of entrance, and so is obliged to attack them externally. Thus in the state of innocence Eve was

[3] Dial. II., 1. [4] p. 99.

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seduced by the Devil, not as a spiritual and invisible being, but under the form of a serpent. So, too, in order to bring about the fall of Adam, the Devil had first to enter into Eve and appeal to Adam through her. The temptations of our Lord were, in consequence of his sinless nature, all of this kind. If this be so, then Christ was not "in all points tempted like as we are;" we have no "High Priest touched with the feeling of our infirmities." But there is no need to criticise such a baseless, not to say immoral, distinction. It is given here as an interesting illustration of the ingenuities resorted to by those who make the saints a different order of beings from ourselves.

There is no doubt, however that to S. Martin the devils did seem to assume a visible form, as afterwards to Martin Luther and many others. Having fallen from a staircase and seriously hurt himself, the blame was laid to the account of the Devil, and when he was healed it was an angel that staunched the wounds. One day the Devil appeared to him, saying he had killed one of his servants.[5] At another time his disciples heard S. Martin carrying on a discussion with the Devil concerning the mercy of God. S. Martin maintained that God would pardon even the greatest sinners if they were truly penitent. "It is not so," said the Devil; "if a man sin after baptism he can never expect to be pardoned." S. Martin's anger waxed hot at this saying, and he chased him away, exclaiming: "O thou miserable one, if even thou thyself wert to desist from thy

[5] V. B. M. 21.

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wicked deeds, I could promise that the Lord Jesus Christ would have mercy upon thee."[6]

Once more the Devil appeared to him, this time under the form of Jesus Christ. Arraying himself in gorgeous raiment, he entered the chamber of the saint. "Recognise me, O Martin," he said, "I am Christ: about to descend I wished to manifest myself first to thee." Receiving no reply, he continued, "Why do you hesitate, when you see? I am Christ." Then S. Martin, perceiving who it was, said, "Jesus the Lord has not foretold that he would come clothed in purple and glittering with diamonds. I will not believe that Christ has come unless I see the print of the nails." Immediately the Devil vanished, filling the cell with an insufferable odour.[7]

"The application of this vision to Martin's age is obvious; I suppose it means in this day, that Christ comes not in pride of intellect or reputation for philosophy. These are the glittering robes in which Satan is now arraying. Many spirits are abroad, more are issuing from the pit; the credentials which they display are the precious gifts of mind, beauty, richness, depth, originality. Christian, look hard at them with Martin in silence, and ask them for the print of the nails." [8]

S. Martin's relations with his clergy were of the most pleasant character. He treated them with the greatest kindness, preferring to rule by love than fear, and himself setting the example of patience and

[6] V. B. M. 22. [7] V. B. M. 24.

[8] Newman. "Church of the Fathers," p. 206.

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charity. One of his disciples named Brictio was accused of some irregularity in his conduct. This being reported to the saint, he reproved him with firmness, much to the annoyance of the offender, who went so far even as to insult his master. S. Martin bore his insults with equanimity, and prayed earnestly that he might be converted to a better mind. He was soon rewarded by finding that Brictio had relented and desired to obtain forgiveness. This mild discipline surprised the rest of the company, and drew forth the memorable reply, "If Jesus Christ suffered Judas, shall I not suffer Brictio?" Excommunication or rigorous discipline was never resorted to; whatever the offence, his attitude towards the offender was the same. He sought by kindness and prayer, not by severity, to correct their errors.[9]

Not only had S. Martin great tact in dealing with breaches of discipline, he was endowed with more than human insight. Not far from Tours was a tomb which had long been venerated as the grave of a martyr. Resolved to discover the real fact, he went to the place and prayed. Presently the shade appeared, and Martin saw at once that the man had been a robber and not a martyr.[10] At another time he perceived in his spirit that one of his disciples was behaving in an immodest way, although he was in a different room.[11] He learned by revelation all that took place at the Council of Nismes.[12]

[9] V. B. M. 26. Dial. III. 15. Another case of irregularity was that of Anatolius V. V. B. M. 25.

[10] V. B. M. II. [11] Dial. III. 19. [12] Dial. II. 15.

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Miracles of healing also occupied some of his attention. At one time he visited Evanthius and cured him of a disease which had proved too much for the physicians, also his servant from the bite of a venomous serpent.[13] On another occasion he cured S. Paulinus, of Nola, of an eye disease.[14] A woman suffering from an issue of blood was restored to health.[15] So great was the efficacy, even of his garments, that many were cured of their diseases by a mere touch. The application of a letter written by the saint drove away a fever from the daughter of the prefect Arborius.[16].

He possessed also wonderful power over animals. He commanded serpents and they obeyed him.[17] He succeeded in taming a furious cow which had been a terror to the neighbourhood.[18] Being without fish at Easter, S. Martin ordered one of his men to cast his line into the river, when a salmon of prodigious size was at once secured.[19] Moved with compassion at the sight of a hare pursued by the hunters, he commanded the dogs to stop, and kept them motionless till the hare gained a place of security.[20] In the same way he stopped another dog which was following one of his disciples.[21]

One other incident must be mentioned in order to complete the list which Sulpicius gives. S. Martin did not forget the poor in his diocese, but took care that all who came to the church at the stated times

[13] Dial. II., 3. [14] V. B. M. 19. [15] Dial. III. 11. [16] V. B. M. 19.
[17] Dial III. 9. "Serpentes me audiunt et homines non audiunt."
[18] Dial. II. 9. [19] Dial. III. 10. [20] Dial. II. 9. [21] Dial. I. II. 3.

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should have their wants attended to. One cold winter's day a man came to him begging for something to protect him from wind and frost. S. Martin gave orders to the archdeacon to provide him with what he could out of the stores of the church, and then entered into the sacristy to prepare himself for Holy Communion. The archdeacon neglected to discharge this duty, and the beggar made his way into the church and ventured to interrupt the saint in his meditations. He was not annoyed at the importunity of the poor man, but actually took off his own tunic and gave it to him, contenting himself with his amphibalum, until the archdeacon came to remind him that the hour for service had come. He replied that there was a poor man (meaning himself) yet to be clothed, and that he could not proceed into the church until that poor man had received a garment. The deacon, remembering his neglect, excused himself by saying that he did not know where the man had gone, and so it was useless to fetch a robe now. "Bring me the robe," said the bishop, "and I will find the poor man." The deacon, quite irritated, selected the coarsest and ugliest one he could lay hands on, and, bringing it to the bishop, threw it at his feet, exclaiming: "There is one; but I don't know where you will find your poor man." Great was his surprise when a few minutes later he saw S. Martin enter the church, having on this very robe, and proceed before the crowded congregation to engage in the service. His deed of charity did not escape the recognition of heaven, for as he offered the sacrifice a ball of fire appeared on his head. It was

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not seen by all, but only by the priests who assisted at the altar, by three of the monks, and one virgin.

The incident recalls the story of the cloak at Amiens. Much had happened since then. The young soldier had become the aged and honoured bishop, but through all the changes of his life he remained unchanged—the friend of the poor and afflicted.

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CONCLUSION

THE day of his death had been revealed to S. Martin, it is said, for a long time. At last the end came. Although more than eighty years of age, he continued to direct the affairs of his diocese, and his last public act was to reconcile some of his clergy who had quarrelled. On this mission of peace he journeyed to Candes, and here it was that he was seized with the fatal fever. When he told his disciples that he was about to leave them, they were filled with sorrow, and could not restrain their tears. "Why, holy father," said they, "are you leaving us? To whose charge are you committing us? Ravening wolves will seize the flock after your departure. We know that Christ desires you, but your rewards are safe, and will not be lessened by any delay; have pity rather upon us whom you desert." Moved by the sight of their grief, the aged saint lifted up his voice in prayer: "O Lord, if I am still necessary to Thy people, I do not refuse the labour; Thy will be done." The words made a deep impression upon Sulpicius.[1] To S. Bernard they raise the saint above apostles and angels.[2] Their comments, however,

[1] Ep. ad Bas.

[2] Sermon on the Festival of S. Martin, quoted by Gervaise, p. 240.

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only detract from the simple pathos of the prayer, which is none the less beautiful because it expresses the desire of all God's faithful servants.

He continued to the last his austerities, lying in sackcloth and ashes, with his face towards heaven and his hands extended. When the bystanders wished him to take a more comfortable position, he replied, "Suffer me, my brethren, to look towards heaven, in order that I may begin to put my soul upon the journey it is about to take to my Lord." Once more the Devil appears, and, uttering his last defiance against his life-long tormentor, S. Martin passed away, A concert of angels was heard in heaven; a wonderful change took place in the corpse. [3] But we need not follow the narratives further. To write a history of the body and tomb of the saint would require another long chapter. Gregory of Tours fills four books with accounts of miracles wrought at the shrine. M. de la Marche finds material for more than one hundred pages in tracing the history of the body of S. Martin, and the honours paid to it. Immediately after his death a dispute arose as to which city should have the honour of possessing the corpse.[4] The people of Poitiers argued that, having founded his first monastery at Liguré, he belonged to them. The men of Tours, however, stole the body while their rivals slept, and carried it off in triumph to Tours, where it remained the object of reverence and superstitious regard until the sixteenth century, when it was burnt by the Huguenots.

[3] Ep. ad Bas. [4] Greg. of Tours. Hist., I., 43.

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APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX I.

THE PRINCIPAL DATES OF MARTIN'S LIFE.

THE subject of the chronology of Martin's life is one of considerable difficulty. The following table, which might easily be made twice the length, will be sufficient to show how great has been the divergence of opinion among historians, and indicate where the chief difficulties lie.

Writer.	Birth.	Enrolled.	Baptised.	Left the Army.	Consecrated.	Died.
Baronius	316	332	353	358	375	402
Beugnot	310	...	354	...	...	400
De Broglie	336	351	354	356	...	...
Baring Gould.....	321	336	339	358	371	401
Dupuy	316	331	334	336	372	397
Gervaise	316	331	354	356	370	396
De la Marche.....	316-7	331	339	341	371	397
Newman	316	331	334	336	372	397
Reinkens	336	351	354	356	...	401
Tillemont	316	331	334	336	372	396

Our authorities for the chronology of Martin's life are Sulpicius Severus, his biographer and contem-

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porary, and Gregory of Tours, one of his successors in the see of Tours in the sixth century, and therefore likely to be well informed concerning his illustrious predecessor. Unfortunately, however, the witnesses do not agree, nor are either of them quite self-consistent. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine carefully the data afforded by each, and then, comparing the two, to select the dates which, on the whole, seem the most probable. This is all that is possible. Absolute certainty is excluded by the conflicting character of the evidence.

I.—We shall take first the evidence of Sulpicius.

(*a*) The one certain point of contact with external sources is the visit of S. Martin to Trèves, when he was entertained by the Emperor Maximus and the Empress. This, we know, was in the year 385 A.D. Sulpicius says that S. Martin was then 70 years of age,[1] and the context suits such an advanced age very well. This would give 316 A.D. as the latest date for his birth.

(*b*) He lived 16 years after this period.[2] Hence he died in 400-1 A.D.

(*c*) Enrolled at the age of fifteen.[3]

(*d*) In the army three years before baptism,[4] and baptised at the age of eighteen.[5]

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[1] Dial. II., 7. "Qui Martino semel tantum in vita iam septuagenario non vidua libera."

[2] Dial. III., 13. "Sedecim (variant sedicim) postea vixit annos."

[3] Vita 2. "Cum esset annorum quindecim."

[4] Vita 2. "Triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit."

[5] Vita 3. "Cum esset annorum duodeviginti (Variant XXII. Paulinus, however, has 18) ad baptismum convolavit."

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(*e*) Remained two years in the army after baptism, but only nominally a soldier.[6]

He thus left the army at the age of 20, in the year 336 A.D. There are, however, two other passages which it is impossible to reconcile with these dates.

(*f*) Ipse armatam militiam in adulescentia secutus inter scolares alas sub rege Constantio (variant Constantino) deinde sub Juliano Cæsare militavit.[7]

(*g*) Interea inruentibus intra Gallias barbaris Julianus Cæsar coacto in unum exercitu apud vangionum civitatem donativum cœpit erogare militibus, et, at est consuetudinis, singuli citabantur, donec ad Martinum ventum est.[8]

But if S. Martin served under Julian in Gaul, he could not have left the army until 356 A.D. There is thus a discrepancy of 20 years.

The various systems of chronology may be grouped under the two heads:

A.—Those that accept the statement that S. Martin served under Julian.

B.—Those that do not.

A.—Gervaise and Reinkens may be taken as representing this class. The corrections which each have to make are considerable, and they emend the text in different ways.

Gervaise alters all the numbers contained in (*d*) and (*e*) above, and obtains 331, 354, 356 as the dates for the enrolment, baptism, and departure from the

[6] Vita 3. "Per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus solo licet nomine militavit."

[7] Vita 2. [8] Vita 4.

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army. This means altering three of Sulpicius' figures. Gervaise, however, does not ascribe the blunders to Sulpicius himself, but to scribes who, to keep up with the enormous demand for the Life and Dialogues, copied them carelessly. He admits that the errors must have crept in before the time of Paulinus, who evidently used one of these defective copies.

Reinkens adopts a different method. In the passage numbered (*a*) he would read 50 instead of 70, and thus place the birth of Martin in the year 336 instead of 316. He retains the reading Constantio in (*f*), and thus makes the military service extend from 351 to 356 A.D. If the evidence for Martin's birth was not corroborated by Gregory of Tours, as we shall see below, this might seem the simplest way of meeting the difficulty, though it would not be free from objection.

B.—Others prefer to reject the connection of Martin with the Cæsar Julian. Tillemont and L. de la Marche may be taken as representatives of this view.

Tillemont admits that Sulpicius was deceived when he said that Martin served under Julian; or that the name Julian was wrongly inserted by a copyist for Julius, a name which Constans bore. According to him, Martin served under Constantius and Constans, between the years 331 and 336 A.D.

L. de la Marche agrees with Tillemont in rejecting the reading Julian, and in regarding it as a mistake for Julius Constans. He differs from all other previous writers in lengthening the military life of Martin from five years, not to twenty or twenty-five, as many have done, but to ten years, understanding the five to refer

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to active service, and not to include the initial period of preparation. He adopts the various reading XXII. in (*d*), asserting in opposition to Halm that it is the better one. This gives baptism 339 A.D., and leaving the army 341 A.D.

There remains one other date of Sulpicius' to be mentioned, viz.: that which he assigns to the death of Martin. He says in (*b*) that Martin lived sixteen years after his journey from Trèves, therefore, till 400-1 A.D. There is some indication that the text has been tampered with, and as the date does not agree with that given by Gregory of Tours, it is generally rejected.

II.—We now turn to the data afforded by Gregory of Tours. These relate only to the birth, episcopal consecration, and death of S. Martin.

(1) Born in the eleventh year of Constantine the Great. Romanorum tricessimus quartus imperium obtinuit Constantinus, annis triginta regnans feliciter. Hujus imperii anno undecimo, cum post excessum Diocletiani pax reddita fuisset ecclesiis, beatissimo præsul Martinus apud Sabariam Pannoniæ civitatem nascitur. (Hist. I., 34.)

(2) Died in the second year of Arcadius and Honorius in his 81st year, and in the 26th of his episcopate. The time is still further indicated by saying that it was during the consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus. Arcadii vero et Honorii imperii anno, sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus . . . . octogesimo et primo ætatis suæ anno, episcopatus autem vigesimo sexto apud Condatensem . . . . migravit ad Christum. Transiit autem media nocte,

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quæ Dominica habebatur Attico Cæsarioque consulibus. (Hist. I., 43.)

(3) In the same chapter there is a very strange calculation. A passione ergo Domini, usque transitum Sancti Martini anni 412 computantur. (Hist. I., 43.) This would bring the death of S. Martin down to about 445 A.D., which is, of course, impossible.

(4) In another passage he refers again to the consecration of S. Martin. Tertius sanctus Martinus anno octavo Valentis et Valentiniani episcopus ordinatur (variant anno nono Valentis episcopus) . . . obiit apud Condatensem . . . anno octogesimo primo ætatis . . . sedit autem annos viginti sex, menses quartuor, dies viginti septem. (Hist. X., 31.)

(5) The length of the episcopate is given again—per quinquennia quinque bis insuper geminis mensibus cum decem diebus, octogesimo primo ætatis suæ anno Cæsario et Attico consulibus nocte media quievit in pace. (De Mir. S. Mart. I., 3.)

(6) The fourth of July was the anniversary of consecration; the eleventh of November of translation. (Hist. II., 14.)

The eleventh year of Constantine was July 316-July 317, which agrees practically with the evidence of Sulpicius as to the birth of S. Martin in 316 A.D. The year 397 A.D. is that which corresponds with the explicit statements of (2), (4), and (5).

As this conflicts with the testimony of Sulpicius, which are we to accept? We have already seen that the text is suspicious; but, in addition to this, S. Gregory's evidence would seem to have more weight. Sulpicius was, indeed, a contemporary of

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S. Martin, but he does not appear to pay much attention to dates. He was writing a life of the saint, and not a sober history. From his point of view, chronology was a very subordinate concern. On the other hand, Gregory of Tours fixes his dates with all the appearance of exactitude, connecting them with external history by three or four different links. As bishop of S. Martin's diocese, he would in all probability be in possession of the correct tradition. It was usual for the churches to keep records of all their bishops, their birth, death, and duration of episcopate being written down. The succession of bishops was unbroken between S. Martin and S. Gregory, and their dates are all given by the latter, who doubtless obtained them from the ecclesiastical tables of his own church. For these reasons it seems right to prefer his authority, and to suppose that the text of Sulpicius is corrupt, the corruption being due either to the carelessness of the scribes or to his own hasty writing. In either case, the substitution of sed decem for sedecim would be easy. The year 397 A.D. was then the year of S. Martin's death. An objection has been made to this year on the ground that November 11th did not fall on a Sunday in 397 A.D., and Gregory of Tours says in (2) that S. Martin died on that day. November 11th was not, however, the anniversary of the death of S. Martin, but of the translation of his body.[9]

[9] Scaliger for this reason placed the death of Martin in 395. For other dates see L. de la Marche, p. 669. Another date is given in Annales Monastici (de Wigornia), p. 361—viz., 412 A.D., which is plainly wrong. The reading medicim for sedecim is adopted by Fynes Clinton I., 513.

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The third date given by S. Gregory is that of the consecration of S. Martin to the bishopric of Tours. The statements which he makes are not consistent, *e.g.*, in (2) it is said that he died in the 26th year of his episcopate; in (4) that he was consecrated in the 8th year of Valentinian and Valens, and after having held it for 26 years 4 months 27 days, died at Candes; in (5) the length is given as 25 years 4 months 10 days.

The reference to Valentinian and Valens supports the longer period, and fixes the date of the consecration as 371 A.D.

III.—The dates obtained thus far are—birth 316, death 397, consecration to episcopate 371. If to these we add Martin's reunion with Hilary, after the return of the latter from exile in 360, and his visits to Valentinian I. (between 372-375) and to Maximus (384-386), we have all the dates that can be relied on with certainty.

IV.—There remains the very difficult question of the length of Martin's military life and (depending upon it) the date of his baptism.

In favour of the long term of service, besides the statement of Sulpicius that Martin served under Julian, there are the following considerations.

(*a*) It is said that the usual term of service was 24 years. This was not the case during the early years of the Empire. Augustus reduced the period required under the Republic to 12 years' for prætorians and 16 for legionaries, and subsequently raised it again to 16 and 20, allowing special privileges for the last 4 years.

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What the state of the law was during the fourth century is not so clear. Gervaise says it was twenty-four years.[10] L. de la Marche accepts the long period, and argues that Martin may have retired under cover of a law passed in 333 A.D., concerning the exemption of the weak and imbecile, which, so it is said, may have been lax enough in its terminology to include clerics and monks.[11] But there is no need to resort to such an unlikely conjecture; the laws (in the Codex Theodosius) for the sons of veterans serving in the cavalry are not decisive for the period of twenty or twenty-four years.[12]

(2) The second argument of Gervaise is that a period of considerable length is necessary to account for the position in the army Martin gained. Primum quidem splendide militavit, deinde ordines duxit.[13] Also to explain the attachment of the men, and in particular of the colonel.

(3) It is also said that it is unlikely that a youth of fifteen would have been sent into the hard service of Gaul, and therefore, the campaign of Julian would be more suitable than the period 331-336 A.D. L. de la Marche meets this by placing the dates four years later.

(4) The silence of Sulpicius as to what took place after Martin left the army, supposing that he left it in 336 A.D. The silence is more natural if he was in the army. Newman makes this gap one of fourteen

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[10] Preface to "Vie de S. Martin." [11] p. 109.
[12] *Cf.* Codex Theod., Liber VII., Tit. XXII., 2, 3, 4, 5, &c., Haenel.
[13] Soz. III., 14.

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years. The calculation of L. de la Marche reduces it to eight or nine.

On the other hand it may be said:—

(1) That there is nothing improbable in Sulpicius passing over a term of years in writing the biography of the Saint. He would have no personal knowledge of the early period of Martin's life.

(2) It is hard to reconcile the statement of Sulpicius that Martin served under Constantius and Julian with a period of five years service.[14]

(3) After leaving the army he went to Hilary, and apparently spent some time with him. But Hilary was banished in the autumn of 356 A.D.[15]

(4) His dismissal from the army is just the kind of incident likely to be ascribed to the "Apostate" Julian.

[14] *Cf.* L. de la Marche, p. 104. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 665.

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APPENDIX II.

SANCTI MARTINI TRINÆ UNITATIS ET UNIUS TRINITATIS CONFESSIO

CLEMENS Trinitas est una divinitas, et autem per sacramentum cognoscatur: unitas est ab eo qui est sanctus, et spiritus: a quo, qui est, et unigenitus sic existens divinæ naturæ, lucis, spiritus, a se, se per naturam, per substantiam majestatis, potestatis, virtutis, divinæ lucis. Spiritus unus in duolus, et uterque id in ipsum: pater in filio, filius in patre, in sancto Spiritu. Sic tribus personis, confitemur corpus præscentiæ: quod super omnia, cuncta concludit. In hoc mysterium ergo credimus, esse ex nullis extantibus cuncta orta, quod mysterium mens humana concipere non potest, me oratoria lingua enarrare, neque diffusi sermonis bibliothecarum volumina, si totum mundus libri repleant, divina scientia non possit inenarrabilis enarrari: qui est indicibilis, nullo modo possit describi, neque concludi aut verbum aut substantia propria divinitatis suæ. Qui est fons divinæ lucis, luminis, suæ substantiæ, naturæ. Sileat lingua oratoria, quia deficit sermo de indicibili: cum consummaverit mens humana de divina majestate dicere, tunc incipit. Quanta sic autem divina

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clementia, nemo scit, nisi qui genuit: et nemo comperit secreta patris, nisi per naturam, nascendi initium amisit. Omnis ergo mansuetudo et modestia peritorum, convertatur ad prophetam: et dominica auctoritate præsumat, dicendo: *Credidi propter quod locutus sum (Psalm cxv., 10).* Quod autem per mysterium simplex sit professio, ut fundamentum Ecclesiæ, solidatæ Apostolica auctoritate, prædestinatio sequens præsumat, dicendo. De cætero nemo mihi molestus sit, ergo credo in Christum, et hunc crucifixum. Quia cum confitetur filium hominis, confitetur et sanctum spiritum: quia e sancto Spiritu, et Maria virgine mediator nascitur: cum confitetur primogenitum, necesse est de unigenito, qui testimonium dicat, unum et solum sine origine esse: tertiam personam patrene confitetur, existentem divinæ naturæ, lucis. Spiritus ut dixi, est unus in duobus, et uterque in id ipsum: pater in filio, filius in patre, in sancto Spiritu in sancta Ecclesia. Nunc et in immortalia sæcula sæculorum.—Amen.

Against the genuineness of this confession Ceillier considers the following arguments decisive.[1]

(1) The silence of Sulpicius Severus.

(2) The very emphatic testimony of that historian to the clear and forcible way Martin had of expounding the Scriptures: whereas this fragment is of an obscure and affected style.

The words of Sulpicius are—Jam vero in verbis et confabulatione ejus quanta gravitas, quanta dignitas erat! Quam alacer, quam efficax et quam

[1] Ceillier. "Auteurs Sacrés," X., 655.

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in exsolvendis Scriptuarum quæstionibus promptus et facilis! Et quia multos ad hanc partem incredulos scio, quippe quos viderim, meipso etiam referente non credere; Jesum testor, spemque communem, me ex nullius unquam ore tantum scientiæ, tantum ingenii, tam boni et tam puri sermonis audisse.[2]

It is easy to lay too much stress on this testimony. Even if Martin had the power of expression which Sulpicius assigns to him, we must remember that he had not been brought up in the schools, and might naturally find it hard to put his belief into the shape of a formal creed.

The first argument has more weight, and perhaps it is safer to conclude that it is not the work of S. Martin.

[2] V. B. M. 25.

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APPENDIX III.

S. MARTIN'S CONNECTION WITH S. PATRICK AND THE IRISH CHURCH.

I.—Tradition has made S. Patrick a relative (generally nephew) of the great apostle of Gaul. The extent and value of this tradition have, however, been sometimes overstated. It is neither as widespread nor as early as some writers have represented. Thus, *e.g.*, the evidence does not seem to warrant the statement of Dr. Todd that *all* the biographers of S. Patrick say he was the nephew and disciple of S. Martin of Tours,[1] nor even the more qualified remark of Miss Cusack that the unvarying testimony of his biographers shows the connection of his family and S. Martin's.[2] Some of the biographers do certainly not make any mention of kinship; nor is there any very early authority for the tradition according to the most probable dates to be assigned to the various MSS.

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[1] Todd, p. 87.

[2] Cusack, p. 147: "What the precise relationship was," continues Miss Cusack, "is another question, and one which, as we have observed, will probably never be settled."

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The most important evidence in favour of the relationship is that of the "Tripartite Life." It is there written—

"As to Patrick, then, of the Britons of Ail—Cluade (Dumbarton) was his origin. Calpwm was his father's name: an arch-priest was he. Fotid (Politus) was his grandfather's name: a deacon was he. Concess was the name of his mother: of the Franks was she, and she was a kinswoman of Martin's."[3] In one of the editions of this work there is the following marginalia. "Patrick . . . a Frank on his mother's side, and she was a sister of the holy Martin."[4]

John Colgan, a Franciscan friar, who edited the "Tripartite Life" in the seventeenth century, assigns the work to S. Evin, who lived in the sixth century, and is followed by Miss Cusack.[5] Dr. Stokes, however, puts it very much later, and mainly for these two reasons: (*a*) It contains allusions to persons who lived, and events which happened, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and there is no ground for supposing that these are interpolated. (*b*) The language would lead us to suppose that it was compiled in the eleventh century, after the middle-Irish period had well set in, though from documents, many, if not all, of which were composed before A.D. 1000.[6]

The testimony, then, which it gives regarding S. Martin's descent cannot confidently be asserted to be earlier than the eleventh century.

To the same century belongs the evidence contained in the "Chronicles of Marianus Scotus"—

[3] Edit. Stokes, p. 9. [4] Stokes XV. [5] p. 70. [6] pp. lxiii.—lxxxix.

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"mater autem erat Patricii Conchess, soror Sancti Martini de Gallia.[7] The name of S. Martin also appears in a list of S. Patrick's household, but this is little, if any, earlier.[8]

The "Annals of the Four Masters," "the most comprehensive and the latest work of authority among the annals,"[9] refers to him thus: "Martin his mother's brother."[10] This reference occurs in a poem on S. Patrick's family, of uncertain date; the Annals themselves were compiled in the seventeenth century.

On the other hand there are serious arguments against this view, which in the absence of any early and reliable authority must be considered decisive. First of these is the fact that, not only are the Lives written by Probus (possibly 10th century) and several other authors, silent with regard to the supposed relationship, but S. Patrick himself does not mention it in his writings. "He does not," says Dr. Lanigan, "give the least hint as to such a relationship, although he found himself under the necessity of showing that he was respectably connected."[11] The silence of S. Martin's biographers does not perhaps count for so much. When Sulpicius wrote, S. Patrick's fame had not gone abroad (it is not even certain that he was born), and we know that subsequent writers added little to the information they received from him. What is more important is the fact that Sulpicius does not mention any sister of S. Martin, either when speaking of his

[7] Pertz. Mon. Germ. VII. 481. Stokes, p. 510.
[8] Stokes, p. 574. [9] O'Curry, p. 445.
[10] Edit. O'Donovan, Vol. I., p. 139. [11] Vol. I., p. 124.

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parentage, or when relating his visit home to convert his father and mother. A further explanation would also be required to show how she came to be regarded as "of the Franks," when her parents seem to have been Slavonian and were living either at Pavia or in Pannonia.[12]

In view of these facts one would hardly merit the blame attached by the authoress of the interesting Life of S. Patrick to those who cannot see their way to accept the relationship, of being "wilfully incredulous," and the candid enquirer will probably prefer the opinion expressed by Dr. Lanigan, that there is not sufficient authority to prove the fact, and that the mistake may have arisen in consequence of its having been said that S. Patrick visited S. Martin at Tours.[13] Such was S. Martin's popularity that the biographers of S. Patrick would think that they were honouring their saint in endeavouring to establish the connection: and if Conchessa, as so many assert, was of Gaul, the confusion would easily arise.

II.—Is the tradition of personal intercourse between the two saints of a more authentic character?

The full form of the story is given in the Tripartite Life, and is as follows:—Postea Sanctus Patricius profectus est Turones ad sanctum Martianum, ut eum in monachum tonderet. Adusque enim illum diem non nisi more servorum erat tonsus. Quando vero

[12] A legend has accounted for this by supposing that Conchessa was taken prisoner and brought into Gaul, where she was married to a Briton. See L. de la Marche, p. 67.

[13] I., p. 124.

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monasticam a sancto Martino accepit tonsuram, omnes sæculi curas et voluptates abdicavit, seque totum orationi, et abstinentiæ consecravit; ita quod proposuerit nunquam vesci carnibus. Quadem tamen die graviter tentatus non potuit se continere, donec acciperit suillas quas ne alii monachi ejus ducerentur exemplo, sub dolio abscondidit. Postquam autem sic carnes reliquerit, obviam ei factus est quidem oculos et in fronte et in occipite habeus. Patricius autem eum penitius intuitus, eiusque conditionem valde admirans ab eo percontatus est, quid tam monstruosa eius constitutio et habitus prætenderet. Cui ille; servus Dei sum, iisque oculis qui modo ordinario in fronte sunt, video actiones hominum ordinarias; oculisque in occipite positis video monachum carnes sub dolio occulantem ne deprehendetur. Et bis dictis continuo disparuit.[14] The legend then goes on to relate the consequent dejection of S. Patrick, and how he was consoled by an angel.

This visit lasted four years. The story is confirmed by several writers, including Probus, who says that after S. Patrick landed in Gaul "pervenit ad Martinum episcopum Turoni, et quatuor annis mansit cum eo, et tonso capite ordinatus est ab ea in clericum, et tenuit lectionem et doctrinam ab eo." Also by the Rheims' Breviaries, one of which has: "Venit ad Martinum episcopum Turonensem, sub cujus et suorum institutione quadriennium perigit;" and another "ad S. Martinum episcopum Turonensem accessit sub cujus institutione quadriennium pere-

[14] Edit. Stokes, p. 25.

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git."[15] The Chronicles of Marianus Scotus say that S. Patrick went at the age of thirty;[16] an ancient "Life of S. Patrick," mentioned by Usher, makes the length of the visit forty days.[17]

Against this visit (whether of four years or forty days) there is the difficulty of S. Patrick's age. S. Martin died, as we have seen, in 397 A.D.; S. Patrick died in 492 A.D. As S. Patrick did not escape from servitude until he was twenty-two years of age, he could not have visited Tours before that time. This would make his age about 120 when he died. That is not, of course, absolutely impossible, and in two articles in the *Dublin Review*, Mr. Morris pleads for this view.[18] His arguments, however, do not seem very convincing. It is more likely that S. Patrick visited the monastery of S. Martin some time after its founder's death, and that what is said regarding the visit is not to be understood of S. Martin in person, but only of the monastery, according to a manner of speaking which is usual in ecclesiastical documents, *e.g.*, "ad S. Petrum" for "Rome."[19]

But although neither the relationship of S. Patrick nor his visit to Tours in the life-time of Martin can be said to have been made out, it is evident that by the 10th or 11th centuries, and possibly much earlier, Martin was honoured by the Irish Church, and the desire had found repeated expression to connect him in some way with their own apostle and saint.

[15] Stokes, p. 502; Lanigan, p. 157; Cusack, p. 174.
[16] Pertz, VII., 481. [17] Cusack, p. 174. [18] July, 1880; Jan., 1883.
[19] Lanigan, 158, who gives further illustrations of this common use.

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Other traces of this more general connection with Ireland are sufficiently numerous, some of which must now be mentioned.

III.—A striking instance of the attachment of the early Irish Church to S. Martin is the fact that not only did Sulpicius' life of the saint find its way into Ireland, but was bound up along with the New Testament Scriptures in the Book of Armagh. This book, the greatest treasure of the Church of Armagh, and the only copy of New Testament writings which has come down to us from the Ancient Irish Church, is ascribed by Dr. Reeves, in his description of the work,[20] to the ninth century. Dr. Stokes says that it was transcribed from a MS. which even in the year 807 A.D. was becoming obscure, and of whose obscurities the transcriber more than once complains.[21]

IV.—Another connecting link is found in the "Gospel of S. Martin." This book in the twelfth century was the chief reliquary of the church at Derry.[22] Concerning this, the old Irish Life of St. Columban—probably as old as the tenth century—says, "He went at another time from Derry to Tours of Martin, and brought away the gospel that lay on Martin's breast in the ground for a hundred years, and he left it in Derry."[23]

The legend of the finding of this book is as follows: "S. Martin—foreseeing that a holy and blessed son should come from Erin after a time, half of whose name should be called from the bird whose figure

[20] p. 3. [21] p. xciv. [22] Historians of Scotland, VI., p. xci.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. xc.

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John saw descending on Jesus at the stream of Jordan, and the other half from the church—ordered the book to be placed in his tomb upon his breast, for, said S. Martin, 'He shall open my tomb, and God will preserve my book for him without stain, without darkness, and he shall bring it to Erin, and Martin's Gospel shall be its name in Erin afterwards.'" The Life of Colum Cille accordingly relates, that having proceeded to the place where Martin was, he brought away the Gospel of Martin with him.[24] To explain how a foreigner would be able to obtain such a precious relic from the people of Tours, the legend adds that they had lost the clue to the exact spot where S. Martin's remains were buried, and that when the Irish prophet came, they applied to him to point out the place where the body of their patron saint lay. This he consented to do on condition that he should receive in return for the exercise of his prophetic insight everything that was found in the grave except the bones of the saint. In this way the book came into his possession.[25] Having taken it to Ireland, it remained with the church at Derry until the year 1182 A.D., when an Irish chieftain, having been defeated in battle by the English, was robbed of the treasure.[26]

V.—The festival of Martinmas was kept in Ireland from very early times, and the custom of killing

[24] O'Donovan. "Calendar of the Saints of Ireland," p. 157.

[25] "Historians of Scotland," VI., xci. Another tradition says that was found in the grave of S. Patrick, p. xcii.

[26] *Ibid.*, xci.

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swine on the eve of S. Martin's feast has been attributed even to S. Patrick himself.

The tale of the Martinmas pig here below—

"Martin, it is he that conferred a monk's tonsure on Patrick; wherefore Patrick gave a pig for every monk and every nun to Martin on the eve of Martin's feast, and killing it in honour of Martin, and giving it to his community, if they should come for it. And from that to this, on the eve of Martin's feast, every one kills a pig though he be not a monk of Patrick's. Finit." [27]

VI.—Some other references to S. Martin.

(*a*) The most important and oldest of the Irish martyrologies, that of Angus Ceilé Dé, composed at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, makes mention of Martin.

In the third division of this work the author says that, having already mentioned and invoked the saints at their respective festival days, he will now invoke them in classes or bands under certain heads or leaders. Beginning with the elders or ancients under Noah, he passes in review the great names of the Old and New Testament times, and then descending to the saints of the church, invokes the monks under Anthony, "*a division of the saints of the world under Martin;*" the noble saints of Erinn under S. Patrick. . . After this invocation he appeals to the Lord for mercy on account of the great interpositions of God in times past, from the deliverances of Enoch and Noah onwards. When he comes to Martin the obsecration is "*of Martin from the priest of the idol.*"[28]

[27] Stokes, p. cxxvii., and p. 560. [28] O'Curry, pp. 363-9.

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(*b*) An Irish Kalendar of the 11th century, containing a long list of names, dwells on the eloquence of S. Martin.

"Sanctus quoque Sulpicius confessor qui vitam St. Martini Turonensis Episcopi eloquentissimo sermoni dictavit, hodie migravit ad Christum."[29]

(*c*) A very ancient vellum book states that Earc of Slaine was in his habit and life like unto S. Martin. This Earc was Brehon or Judge of S. Patrick.[30]

These are some of the principal references I have been able to collect, and they are sufficient at least to illustrate the close connection existing between the posthumous fame of the two men, and perhaps also the intercommunion of the Irish and Gallic churches.

That intercommunication, commencing probably in the time of S. Patrick, became of the first importance in the century after his death, and if the Irish Church was indebted for guidance or stimulus to the life and work of S. Martin at Marmoutier, the obligation was more than repaid, when from the monasteries of Ireland, the "Island of the Saints," there went forth a succession of enthusiastic and devoted missionaries to renew in the minds and hearts of the Gauls the Christianity which S. Martin had been the means of establishing, and which by the flight of years and the inundations of the Franks had lost much of its power, and was often hardly discernible. From the sixth century onwards the mission work of Europe was undertaken by monks trained in the British and Irish

[29] "Historians of Scotland," V. p. 38.

[30] O'Donovan. "Calendar of the Saints of Ireland," p. 293.

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monasteries. "Pious monks felt themselves called to more active labours in the service of religion, for which they found no sufficient field in their own country; while at the same time, the native love of foreign travel, peculiar to the Irish people, would serve as a means of conveying Christianity and civilization to the distant nations."[31] Not only Colum Cille, but many more of his fellow-countrymen, for many generations were the agents of this great work. "During seven hundred years all the abbots of Iona were Irishmen. Messengers of life went forth from thence to every region, and during more than a thousand years dead bodies of kings and chiefs were brought to be buried in its sacred soil."[32]

[31] Neander, V. p. 38. [32] O'Conor. "Hist. of Irish People," I., 22

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APPENDIX IV.

S. MARTIN'S CONNECTION WITH S. NINIAN AND THE BRITISH CHURCH.

I.—As in the case of S. Patrick a relationship has been supposed by some. The arguments, however, against this view are stronger even than in the case of the Irish Apostle. There is no early evidence for the supposed fact, and the tradition, doubtless, arose from the desire to glorify the one by his illustrious nephew; or, possibly, the other and less famous by his distinguished uncle and teacher. Even the Bollandists, who admit the connection of S. Patrick and S. Martin, hesitate here. "Nam quod cum Boetio aliisque Ninianum S. Martin ex sorore nepotem et sub eius disciplina educatum fuisse asserit, plane incertum mihi est."[1]

II.—The Life of S. Ninian, by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaux, in the 12th Century, contains the following traditions: (*a*) Visit to S. Martin. (*b*) Dedication of a church to him in Galloway. He says, in Chapter II., "There flourished at this time the most blessed Martin, Bishop of the City of Tours, whose life rendered glorious by miracles, already described by the most

[1] Sept. V. 324.

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learned and holy Sulpicius, had enlightened the whole world. Therefore the man of God returning from the City, full of the Spirit of God, and touched with the desire of seeing him, turned aside to the city of Tours. With what joy, devotion, and affection he was received by him, who shall easily tell? By the grace of prophetic illumination the worth of the new bishop was not hid from him, whom by revelation he recognized as sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and sure to be profitable to the salvation of many. The pillars in the tabernacle of God are joined one with the other, and two cherubim stretching out their wings touch each other; sometimes borne up on the wings of virtue they soar to God, sometimes standing and folding their wings they become edifying to each other. Therefore coming back from these exalted things to what is earthly, the blessed Ninian besought of the saint masons, stating that he proposed to himself that as in faith, so in the ways of building churches, and in constituting ecclesiastical offices, he desired to imitate the holy Roman church. The most blessed man assented to his wishes; and so satiated with mutual conversations as with heavenly feasts, after embraces, kisses, and tears shed by both they parted, holy Martin remaining in his own see, and Ninian hastening forth under the guidance of Christ to the work whereunto the Holy Ghost had called him."[2]

And again in Chapter III.[3] he continues: "and having first learnt that the most holy Martin whom

[2] "Historians of Scotland," V., p. 10. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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he held always in wondrous affection has passed from earth to heaven, he was careful to dedicate the church itself in his honour."

This was the first stone church erected in Scotland, and the place is called Candida Casa, by Bede, who also mentions the fact that it was dedicated to S. Martin.

"Namque ispi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, malto ante tempore (*i.e.*, before S. Columba preached to them), ut prohibent, relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Ninia episcopo reverendissimo et sanctissimo viro, de natione Britonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus; cujus sedem episcopalem (Sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecelesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum plaribus sanctis requiescit) jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus, ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgo vocatur 'ad candidam Casam' eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit."—Eccl. Hist. III., 4.

It seems very probable that the church was dedicated to S. Martin at the time of his death, and this opinion is generally received,[4] but the question of a visit to S. Martin is more doubtful, and there is not sufficient evidence to support it.

[4] Skene. "Celtic Scotland," II., 13. "Historians of Scotland," V., p. xxvii. Dict. Christian Biogr. Art. Ninian. Cusack, p. 149, who also accepts the tradition of his visit to S. Martin.

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